THE POETICS OF COLONIZATION

From City to Text in Archaic Greece

CAROL DOUGHERTY

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CAROL DOUGHERTY

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Wellesley, Massachusetts C.D.
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Abbreviations

AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
Annales (ESC)	*Annales (Economie, Sociétés, Civilisations)*
ARV^2	J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1963)
ASNP	*Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondance Héllenique*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*
BSA	*Annual of the British School of Athens*
CA	*Classical Antiquity*
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*
CJ	*Classical Journal*
CP	*Classical Philology*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CR	*Classical Review*
CRDAC	*Centro ricerche e documentazione sull' antichità classica.* Atti. Rome.
CSCA	*California Studies in Classical Antiquity*
CW	*Classical World*
DK	*Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, ed. H. Diels and W. Kranz
FGrH	*Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, ed. F. Jacoby
FHG	*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 5 vols., ed. C. Müller
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
ICS	*Illinois Classical Studies*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
L-P	Lobel and Page 1955

LSJ	*Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones
MusHel	*Museum Helveticum*
MW	Merkelbach and West 1967
PP	*La Parola del Passato*
PMG	*Poetae Melici Graeci*, ed. D. L. Page
QUCC	*Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica*
RE	Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*
REA	*Revue des Etudes Anciennes*
REG	*Revue des Etudes Grecques*
RhMus	*Rheinisches Museum*
S-M	*Pindar and Bacchylides*, ed. Snell-Maehler
T	Tarditi 1968
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
TrGF	*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. R. Kannicht, S. Radt, and B.Snell (Göttingen 1971—)
W	*Iambi et Elegi Graeci*, 2 vols., ed. M. L. West
WS	*Wiener Studien*
YCS	*Yale Classical Studies*

The Poetics of Colonization

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Introduction: The Poetics of Colonization

ἀρχὴ μὲν δὴ μέγιστον ἐν παντί, μάλιστα δ' ἐν ἱδρύσει καὶ κτίσει πόλεως.

The beginning is the greatest thing in everything, but especially in the establishment and founding of a city.

(Plut. *De Fort. Rom.* 8.321 AB)

Early in the year 1621 the subject of emigration to America received considerable public attention in England. Robert Cushman, a devoted friend and agent of the Pilgrim cause, anxious to persuade others to "go and do likewise," published an essay on the subject of settling America. He first poses the natural question, "What right have I to go live in the heathens' country?" and responds:

> And first, seeing we daily pray for the conversion of the heathens, we must consider whether there be not some ordinary means and course for us to take to convert them, or whether prayer for them be only referred to God's extraordinary work from heaven. Now it seemeth unto me that we ought also to endeavor and use the means to convert them; and the means cannot be used unless we go to them, or they come to us. To us they cannot come, our land is full; to them we may go, their land is empty.
>
> This then is a sufficient reason to prove our going thither to live lawful. Their land is spacious and void, and there are few, and do but run over the grass, as do also the foxes and wild beasts. They are not industrious, neither have art, science, skill or faculty to use either the land or the commodoties of it; but all spoils, rots, and is marred for want of manuring, gathering, ordering, &c. As the ancient patriarchs, therefore, removed from straiter places into more roomy, where the land lay idle and waste, and none used it, though there dwelt inhabitants by them, as Gen. xiii. 6, 11, 12, and xxiv. 21, and xli. 20, so is it lawful now to take a land which none useth, and make use of it. ("Reasons and Considerations Touching the Lawfulness of Removing out of England into the Parts of America"[1])

As the Europeans explored and colonized the New World, certain issues and anxieties emerged in their writings; chief among them, as we can see from Cushman, was the need to explain European occupation of foreign land. One theme that dominates early American writings represents colonization as a moral imperative from God: the duty of Europeans to bring Christianity to heathens. A second argument which Cushman uses as well highlights the emptiness of the New World in sharp

contrast to the straitened and cramped circumstances of England. Implicit is the assumption that there is plenty of room in America for anyone who wishes to go and that European possession of this land is merely a sensible attempt to redistribute the population. Later in this same essay Cushman refers to America as "a vast and empty chaos," and the mention of chaos prompts a third rationale for foreign settlement. The New World, before European settlement, was a place of overabundant, underutilized wilderness, crying out for the civilizing order of the Old World ("All spoils, rots and is marred for want of manuring, gathering, ordering, &c."). The European settlement of America, then, and the subsequent displacement of the native populations becomes both the work of God and a transfer of order and civilization to a land previously spacious and void, superabundant with unused natural growth.

These (and other) discursive strategies used to describe the European presence on American soil are common to many colonial traditions. In the subsequent chapters I will explore the legends and literature not of colonial America, but of the archaic Greek colonization movement. From the eighth to the sixth centuries B.C.E., the Greeks established an astounding number of new cities on foreign soil as far east as the Black Sea and as far west as the coast of Spain. In this massive colonial enterprise, portrayed by the Greeks in later literature, we recognize many of the themes and narrative conventions prominent in European accounts of American settlement. The Greeks, too, attributed their colonial impulse to a divine source, to Delphic Apollo. Europeans such as Cushman quote chapter and verse of the Bible to justify the "lawfulness of removing out of England into the parts of America"; the Greeks include within their foundation accounts the very Delphic oracles that prompted their colonial endeavors. Present in the Greek traditions as well is the tendency to describe the colonial site as a golden-age "garden of Eden"—like Cushman's land "spacious and void," an unoccupied territorial expanse waiting for the Greek settlers to bring order and civilization.[2]

Tales of archaic Greek city foundations continued to be told and retold long after the colonies themselves were settled; they were tightly woven into the larger fabric of Greek cultural memory. In spite of the obvious affinities that the Greek material has with other accounts of settling new worlds, this substantial collection of colonial tales has never been read (neither by classicists nor by those who work on modern texts) within the larger critical framework of colonial discourse. Greek stories about colonizing Sicily or the Black Sea in the seventh century B.C.E. are no more transparent, no less culturally constructed than nineteenth century British tales of empire in India or Africa; they are every bit as much about power, language, and cultural appropriation. With this in mind, I will explore how the ancient Greeks constructed their memory of founding new cities on foreign shores; this book is concerned with the representations—not the realia—of archaic colonization.

But first, some issues of methodology. Whom do I mean when I ask how "the Greeks" remembered colonization? Given the nature and scarcity of our sources, it is difficult to be sure what individual Greeks thought about colonization (or anything else) both within the archaic period and in later times. How did the Corinthians record the settlement of Syracuse, and how did their version differ from the tales told by those who actually participated in the colony? How do the colonial

legends of the archaic period compare with those of the classical period and later? While it is important to acknowledge such differences whenever possible, much may be gained as well from exploring how the Greeks, as a community with shared beliefs, reconstructed colonization. Thus I will look at the colonial tale as a cultural product, a *topos* that extends from the Homeric poems to Plutarch's *Moralia* and beyond. As will emerge in the chapters to follow, the narrative pattern, metaphors, and language of colonial discourse are informed by cultural phenomena such as purification practices, the Delphic oracle, marriage ideology, and Panhellenic competition, all of which belong to Greece as a whole and whose influence transcend individual time periodization.

Insofar as the Greek colonial narrative concerns events in the past, some of Hayden White's observations about historical narratives will be helpful in establishing a methodology. White suggests that narrative discourse in general uses metaphysical concepts, religious beliefs, or story forms to make sense of the strange, the enigmatic, or the mysterious—in other words "to familiarize the unfamiliar."[3] Since in White's view, historical narratives are not so very different from poetic or literary texts in their use of narrative strategies and figurative language, much of his approach will help us in our discussion of Greek colonial tales to set aside the often problematic distinctions between what modern scholarship identifies as myth, legend, folklore, and history.[4]

Greek narratives about the past combine discourses that we today keep separate. Sometimes a foundation tale seems to fall clearly in the mythic realm, as, for example, when Apollo spies the nymph Cyrene, carries her across the sea, and establishes her as foundress of the city named for her in Libya.[5] Other colonization accounts, however, sound more historical to us. Thucydides tells us that Archias, one of the Bacchiads, led the founding expedition from Corinth to the colony of Syracuse.[6] Many more accounts stem from what we would call the world of legend. Greeks from Pylos were shipwrecked on their way home from Troy and founded the colony of Metapontum.[7] Although they describe the past, colonization tales must also respond to the needs of the present; the significance of the narrative depends less on an accurate reflection of facts than on internal coherence and continued cultural value. As a result, historical, literary, mythical, and legendary material are combined as needed to represent and legitimate action.[8] White suggests that this is not just an ancient Greek phenomenon: "we experience the 'fictionalization' of history as an 'explanation' for the same reason that we experience great fiction as an illumination of a world that we inhabit along with the author. In both we recognize the forms by which consciousness both constitutes and colonizes the world it seeks to inhabit comfortably."[9]

White identifies the literary codes of classical historiography in terms of emplotment, argument, ideology, and metaphor, and I am particularly interested in what he has to say about emplotment and metaphor.[10] He notes that events themselves cannot form stories; they can only provide their constituent elements. "The events are made into a story by the suppression or subordination of certain of them and the highlighting of others, by characterization, motific repetition, variation of tone and point of view, alternative descriptive strategies, and the like—in short, all of the techniques that we would normally expect to find in the emplotment of a

novel or a play."[11] Thus, as we will see, the Greeks represent colonization as a familiar story—crisis, Delphic consultation, and resolution—and this "emplotment" of the colonial narrative is one of the ways the Greeks (as a culture) authorize their common past.

White also emphasizes the "tropological element of discourse." Both this attention to figurative language in general and in particular his appreciation of how metaphor "familiarizes the unfamiliar" will also help us understand what some would call the fictional element of colonial tales. For White, historical narratives are a complex of symbols; they exploit the metaphorical relationships between real events and the conventional structures of our fictions in order to endow the past with meaning.[12] Much of my approach to Greek colonial discourse will focus on the kinds of cultural metaphors that the Greeks use to describe and to understand colonization.

White's analysis of historical narrative, then, provides a framework for reading the colonial narrative as a kind of discourse that organizes its story in familiar and culturally significant ways. But since we are not working with a single historian's view of Greek colonization but rather with the larger cultural memory of that phenomenon, the work of cultural anthropology will also be helpful. In trying to understand archaic Greece, much of what we do is to reconstruct meaning from the surviving art, literature, and other traces of ritual practice for which anthropologists like Mary Douglas, Clifford Geertz, and Victor Turner have set out useful theoretical principles.[13] Geertz, for example, explains that, as an anthroplogist, he approaches another culture not by imagining himself as its member but by "searching out and analyzing the symbolic forms—words, images, institutions, behaviors—in terms of which, in each place, people actually represented themselves to themselves and to one another."[14] Similarly, by analyzing the kinds of symbols and metaphors used by the Greeks to represent colonization, I attempt here to understand this aspect of archaic Greek culture in a novel way.

We must think about the nature of Greek colonial tales within the larger cultural context that produced them since the archaic colonization movement was both a response to and responsible for a radical break in the Greek way of life.[15] Traditional cultures, like archaic Greece, must develop procedures for accommodating abrupt change that can negotiate a place for the new without irretrievably altering the old. Here the work of another anthropologist, Marshall Sahlins, will also be helpful in supplementing Geertz's highly stylized and static interpretations of cultural systems, which often fail to take sufficiently into account elements of political or historical change.[16] Sahlins' studies of the interaction between the Polynesians and the British in the eighteenth century provide us with a model for understanding historical change within a cultural continuum.[17] His approach suggests a context in which to read the Greeks' use of familiar narrative conventions and tropes to construct their memory of the new phenomenon of colonization. He shows, for example, that the Polynesians incorporated the historical arrival of Captain Cook into their native mythical and cultural system as the annual return of Lono, the Hawaiian fertility god. For them Cook functions as a "historical metaphor of a mythical reality."[18] Sahlins argues that not only do a culture's received categories inform the

way it interprets new historical events, but these events alter the cultural structure as well—the arrival of the British causes the Hawaiians to reorganize their economic system. This restructuring, however, is achieved within the framework of the same system and is broadcast through the established cultural media, Polynesian myth and legend, as more of the same. We will see this same process of reciprocal negotiation at work as the archaic Greeks struggle to make sense of the changes that colonization brings to their view of the world.[19]

Thus, anthropology provides a framework for analyzing cultural metaphors and the various ways in which a culture represents itself to itself. But since Greek colonial tales are often situated in larger literary contexts, literary theory will also contribute to our understanding of the colonial narrative *in situ*. My interest in what I have called the poetics of the archaic colonization movement (in fact the title of this book) owes something to recent schools of literary theory that reject traditional assumptions about the relationship between history and literature, between literature and society.[20] I propose to approach Greek colonial tales not only as the product of social, political, religious, and literary manipulations but as an active force in ongoing cultural negotiations as well.

The readings of colonial tales that follow recognize the problematic distinctions not only between 'literature' and 'history' (as Hayden White has noted) but also between 'text' and 'context.'[21] We must be aware of the limits inherent in constructing a narrative of colonization, of describing new territory, landscapes, and peoples while restricted by one's own language, vocabulary, and categories of experience, as Wayne Franklin notes in describing how the language and literary expectations of the Old World influenced accounts of the New World:

> Particularly in colonial settings, where the replication of old forms is a controlling impetus to new action, language develops a priority of its own. As the means by which colonial agents make their reports to the home government (and do so with a clear understanding of what they are expected to say), language comes to exert a subtle influence on how life in the colony is conceptualized, even perceived or carried on. The range of admissible statement predetermines both the manner of reportage and the conduct of those affairs which will be subject to review.[22]

In his history of the Australian colonial experience, Robert Hughes remarks that in much the same way, early representations of Australian territory were conditioned by English landscape conventions. He explains this tendency as "habit resorting to familiar European stereotypes to deal with the unfamiliar appearance of things Australian; thus it took at least two decades for colonial watercolorists to get the gum trees right, so that they did not look like English oaks or elms."[23]

As we proceed to look at the Greek material, it will be helpful to keep correctives such as this in mind. Since Greek colonial legends, like all narratives, are not clear, untroubled reflections of some historical truth but rather are literary representations of that truth, they stand in a complicated relationship to the events they relate. Like the Europeans, the Greeks had to confront a "new world" and address the problems, fears, and anxieties inherent in settling territory overseas, but unlike them, the Greeks have left us none of the private letters, journals, or eyewitness

accounts with which to balance the grander literary narratives. Yet it is still possible (and important) to explore the relationship between historical event and narrative account, to ask how each informs the other.

The discussion of how and why the Greeks, as a culture, continued to tell colonization stories must begin from some consensus about what defined a colonial narrative. In spite of the fluidity between what we identify as myth, history, and legend, there was for the Greeks a clear sense of different kinds of narratives about the past, and we need to identify the peculiarly Greek pattern and motifs of the colonization narrative. For this reason, in the first chapter, I have collected as many sources for archaic colonization as possible, trying to avoid traditional assumptions about text as foreground and history as background; history as truth and myth as fiction; older sources as more valuable than later ones. In drawing upon poetic texts, anecdotes, historical narratives, religious treatises, oracular pronouncements, and archeological data alike, I have created a composite typology of the colonization narrative in order to discover how the Greeks "emplotted" their memory of archaic colonization. While the individual instances of the colonial narrative (which I call colonial tales or legends) vary from colony to colony, the basic narrative pattern that emerges can be summarized as follows: crisis, Delphic consultation, colonial foundation, resolution. City founders received cult honors after death, and quite likely the annual celebrations of that cult provided a public occasion for the continued retelling of the colonial narrative. For this reason the first chapter also outlines the details of cult practice, which formed an important part of the colonial experience.

Each of the first three stages of the colonial narrative is in turn linked to cultural metaphors (or conceptual models), which help the Greeks represent the unfamiliar phenomenon of colonization in terms of familiar symbols or institutions. The first two metaphors focus on the problems of leaving home and cluster around Apollo and his oracle at Delphi. Within the colonial narrative, a crisis in the mother city motivates the need to colonize; murder and the purification that it demands are emblematic of overseas settlement as a solution to civic crisis—whether it be drought, overpopulation, or civil discord. Thus, in the second chapter, I show that Delphic Apollo's civic role as a purifying deity, especially in cases of homicide, provides the Greeks with a metaphor for leaving home to found a new city: founding a colony is described as the purification for murder. This particular model thus addresses the anxieties inherent in expelling part of a civic population for the good of those who remain. In addition, purification as a metaphor for colonization helps motivate a variant of the colonial narrative in which a murder prompts the consultation of Delphi, and the murderer is told by Apollo to found a colony in order to be ritually cleansed of that murder—a variant which acknowledges the violent nature of a colonial expedition and expiates that violence in the movement from crisis to resolution which is plotted as the structure of the narrative.

The next stage in the colonial narrative, the Delphic consultation, links up with another metaphor for conceptualizing colonization. In Chapter 3, I show that the enigmatic language characteristic of the Delphic oracle offers an appropriate linguistic environment for representations of founding a new city, and colonization is thus described as the solution to a riddle. Punning riddles, in particular, make it

possible to construct a colonial tale that describes a foreign landscape with a Greek vocabulary. Bilingual wordplay hellenizes local cults and geography and thus addresses the problems of contact with native populations in foreign territory. Again the threat of violence is displaced, this time by substituting for Greek military prowess the intellectual superiority required to interpret Delphic oracles.

The foundation of a new city—the solution to the civic crisis—marks the end of the colonial narrative. At this point, the inevitable confrontation between Greeks and native populations entails a third cultural metaphor—marriage. Unlike the previous two metaphors, this one focuses on the moment of arrival, on the question of the terms upon which the Greeks will occupy this new land. Thus, in Chapter 4, I argue that the civilizing ideology of marriage comes to represent the relationship between the Greek settlers and the native inhabitants. Again, a variant of the colonial narrative relates to this cultural metaphor, and foundation accounts that describe the union of Greek male gods with local female nymphs represent the new city in terms that celebrate the dominance of Greek culture over local nature. Within the tale of settlement the power relationship between men and women which Greek marriage implies is then used to negotiate the terms of interaction between Greek colonists and local populations. Both marriage and colonization entail violence; both institutions use that violence to transform wildness and lack of cultivation into a state of fruitful civilization.

Thus, the colonial narrative (and all its variants), cult practice, and the three cultural metaphors of purification, riddling, and marriage combine to form what I call colonial discourse. Once we have begun to map out the parameters of this discourse, the next step is to investigate the practice or context for telling colonial tales. Chapter 5 concerns the founding of Aetna by Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse, and the literature that celebrates that foundation in order to discuss colonial discourse as it is embedded in literary contexts. Both Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae* and Pindar's *Pythian* 1 adopt the representational strategies of archaic colonial discourse to celebrate the fifth-century foundation of Aetna. In addition, I suggest that Greek drama and epinician poetry are appropriate performance contexts for enacting colonial ideology—both provide an occasion for civic celebration. Drama allows a city to act out its origins; it provides a context for restaging the colonial moment, a public performance which, in the case of the *Aetnaeae*, phrases the city foundation in terms of a bilingual pun, a Greek translation of a local cult. Colonial tales link the power of the individual founder to his city's greater glory, and in this respect, they are very much at home in the epinician genre as well. Epinician poetry provides the ritual context for transferring a victor's talismanic power to his city, and a similar conflation of the founder's status and that of his city occurs within the colonial tale as well. Thus we see another cultural metaphor at work—a colonial founder functions as an appropriate model of praise for the athletic victor. The institution of Panhellenic competition also helps the Greeks conceptualize colonization.

The final three chapters then show how Pindar incorporates colonial tales within the larger context of the epinician ode. In *Pythian* 5 the similarities between the careers of the athletic victor and the city founder make such a comparison a natural one; Pindar models his description and praise of the victor closely on the deeds of the city founder. The next chapter offers readings of *Olympian* 7 and Bacchylides

11 to show how both epinician poets in praising athletic victors exploit the analogy between purification and colonization. Colonization, purification, and victory are all communal, civic activities; for each, the actions of the individual have significant impact upon the welfare of the city at large. The final chapter shows how Pindar extends the metaphor of victory and colonization to include marriage as well. In *Pythian* 9 he describes colonization as a process of civilization, of cultivating the wild, and Delphic Apollo plays as key a role in this version of the city's foundation as in the victory, celebrated this time as bridegroom.

Thus these last four chapters reveal the extent to which the narrative pattern, cult, and metaphors of archaic colonization participate in the rhetoric of drama and the epinician ode. Colonization is an inherently civic act, one that unites founding hero and colony in a common bond of fame, and the choral genres of drama and epinician poetry provide performance contexts suitable for the continued reenactment and commemoration of a city's foundation. In addition, these extended literary texts help us see the ideology of colonization at work; the models of purification, bilingual wordplay, marriage, and athletic victory describe a memory of colonization that is embedded in the larger networks of civic celebration and praise.

Notes

1. The essay is quoted in full in Cushman 1855 pp. 31–38.

2. See also Hughes 1987 p. 7. Australian colonial traditions also contain the myth of an "empty" continent, speckled with primitive animals and hardly less primitive men so that the "fittest" inevitably triumphed. Thus the destruction of the Australian Aborigines was rationalized as natural law. Hughes quotes a settler: "Nothing can stay the dying away of the Aboriginal race, which Providence has only allowed to hold the land until replaced by a finer race" (C. Lockhart, replying to a circular letter from the Select Committee on the Aborigines, New South Wales V & P [1849] p. 20).

3. White 1978 p. 86.

4. Cf. Edmunds 1990 pp. 1–17 for a working definition of myth and a discussion of the different kinds of Greek storytelling. He suggests (p. 7) that we need to recognize "that the Greeks had no taxonomy of narratives corresponding to the ones we use, e.g., the tripartite scheme of myth, legend, and folktale."

5. Pind. *Pyth.* 9.

6. Thuc. 6.3.2.

7. Strab. 6.1.15.

8. Turner 1981 pp. 149–53. As Claude Calame (1990 p. 279; 1991) points out, legendary history does not exist for the Greeks as a specific narrative genre. Neither, I would argue, does colonization poetry in the archaic period. Stories about the past, such as a colonization tale, necessarily form part of other literary genres, and, as we will see in the final chapters of this book, their form and nature are conditioned by the conventions of that genre. On this question, see also Detienne 1986b and Brillante 1990. See the essays collected in White 1978 and Hunt 1989 for discussion of these issues in modern historiography.

9. White 1978 p. 99.

10. White 1973; 1978.

11. White 1978 p. 84. See also p. 83: emplotment is "simply the encodation of the facts

contained in the chronicle as components of specific kinds of plot structures. . . . " White draws upon the work of Northrop Frye to identify four plot structures—romance, comedy, tragedy, satire—that inform historical narrative.

12. White 1978 p. 88: "Viewed in a purely formal way," he suggests, "a historical narrative is not only a *reproduction* of the events reported in it, but also a *complex of symbols* which gives us directions for finding an *icon* of the structure of those events in our literary imagination."

13. Douglas 1966; Geertz 1973; 1983; Turner 1974.

14. Geertz 1983 p. 58. See also Geertz 1973 pp. 412–53 where Geertz shows what being a Balinese is "really like" through a careful study of the cockfight—a cultural practice that is intimately linked to many of the larger social and economic principles that organize Balinese society.

15. Colonization was indeed one response to overpopulation, land shortages, and civic crisis, but the process of founding new cities overseas was also responsible for many subsequent changes in the Greek way of life. Although at first one might assume that colonization presupposes a fully realized concept of the city-state at home, Snodgrass 1980 pp. 41 and 157 has argued that colonization, in fact, helped crystallize the essence of the polis on the Greek mainland. See Martin 1951 p. 198 and Malkin 1987 pp. 261–66 for the suggestion that the worship of the cult of the founder in the colonies may have prompted similar practices in cities on the mainland. See the essays collected in Descoeudres 1990 for further examples of how developments in architecture, vase painting, and the other arts were carried back to the mainland from the colonies. Nagy 1990a p. 71 n. 96 suggests that a similar interaction operates in the poetic traditions of mother and daughter city, Miletus and Megara: "Just as the mother city tends to replicate its social structure, divisions and all, in the daughter city, so also the new social experiences of the daughter city, such as contacts with 'new' kinds of barbarians . . . become incorporated into the ideology of the mother city. . . . "

16. For a critique of Geertz, see Biersack 1989 and bibliography cited there.

17. Sahlins 1981; 1985. See also Turner 1974 pp. 23–30 and Fernandez 1974 for the importance of studying conceptual analogies or cultural metaphors as a way to understand a society as it undergoes and adapts to change.

18. Sahlins 1981 p. 11.

19. In many ways, Sahlins' model is very similar to another one which will be more familiar to most classicists—that of oral formulaic theory. On a cultural level, just as on the level of oral composition, new events and phenomena are continually absorbed into a preexisting framework. As Sahlins (1981 p. 7) inverts the famous saying: "The more things stay the same, the more they change."

20. Cf. Greenblatt 1988 p. 5 where he defines a "poetics of culture" as the "study of the collective making of distinct cultural practices and inquiry into the relations among those practices." While recognizing its limitations for discussing archaic Greek texts, I have found the "new historicism" useful in helping to recognize the active role that texts themselves play in constructing reality. See, for example, Greenblatt 1988 and the essays collected in Veeser 1989. For various critiques of new historicism, see Fox-Genovese, Graff, Lentricchia, Newton, Pecora, Terdiman, B. Thomas, and Spivak in Veeser 1989.

21. Montrose (in Veeser 1989) p. 18. "The newer historical criticism is new in its refusal of unproblematized distinctions between 'literature' and 'history,' between 'text' and 'context'; *new* in resisting a prevalent tendency to posit and privilege a unified and autonomous individual—whether an Author or a Work—to be set against a social or literary background."

22. Franklin 1979 p. 4.

23. Hughes 1987 p. 3 and note 4.

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I

Narratives and Metaphors: Translating the City into Text

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1

Laying the Foundations: Narrative and Cult

Περὶ τῶν γενῶν, ὦ Σώκρατες, τῶν τε ἡρώων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τῶν κατοικίσεων, ὡς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκτίσθησαν αἱ πόλεις, καὶ συλλήβδην, πάσης τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας ἥδιστα ἀκροῶνται. . . .

Concerning the births both of heroes and of men, Socrates, and of settlements—how cities were founded long ago—in short, concerning all kinds of ancient history they [the Spartans] listen most gladly. . . .

(Plato, *Hippias Maior* 285d)

The Greeks loved to speculate about the beginnings of things. The birth of men and heroes, the origins of cults and religious practices—all beginnings fascinated them, and the founding of cities formed part of this aetiological repertoire. While foundation poetry did not exist as an autonomous genre in the archaic period, tales of how cities came to be settled were at home in many literary contexts—from the Homeric poems to the works of the Hellenistic poet-scholars—and are best treated as a *topos* or theme that could be embedded within elegiac poems, epinician odes, tragedy, or the history of Chios.[1] Hippias, in Plato's dialogue, suggests that a colonial tale told the story of "how cities were founded long ago" (ὡς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκτίσθησαν αἱ πόλεις), and this chapter sets out to reconstruct a composite typology of such a narrative. In order to talk about what Hayden White would call the "emplotment" of the colonial narrative, I will draw upon a wide variety of ancient sources—epic, lyric, drama, philosophical tracts, historical narratives, the works of later geographers and mythographers, inscriptions, and anecdotes—trying to avoid making value distinctions between these very different kinds of texts. A typology of the colonial narrative, once reconstructed, will tell us not how Greeks of the archaic period really founded colonies, but rather how the Greeks as a culture remembered the archaic colonization movement and how they continued to describe it to themselves.

The narrative pattern or "plot" of archaic colonization is a familiar one: (a) A civic crisis (b) prompts the consultation of Apollo's oracle at Delphi. Apollo delivers an oracle that (c) authorizes the foundation of a colony overseas. The successful colonial foundation then provides (d) the resolution to the original crisis, which will be forever marked and memorialized through the cult of the founder.[2] Readers of Herodotus, in particular, will recognize this plot; similar accounts of civic crisis and

Delphic consultation (but with different kinds of solutions) can be found throughout the pages of his *Histories*. The famous "bones of Orestes" episode, for example, follows this pattern but substitutes the translation of Orestes' bones to Sparta for colonization as the solution to the particular crisis at home.[3] Many of the legends that cluster around the Greek lawgivers also tell a story in which Delphi plays an important role in the movement from *anomia* to *eunomia*.[4] It is clear that, in the way that both Hayden White and Marshall Sahlins suggest, the Greeks adapt an existing cultural framework, a common narrative pattern, to accommodate something new and to structure their memory of change.[5] In proceeding through the steps of this pattern, we will discover the broad range of detail and experience that is encompassed under each of the general headings of crisis, Delphic consultation, colonial foundation, and resolution.

Crisis

The subtext of much of colonial discourse in the archaic period is the reluctance to leave home. While modern historians and archeologists still debate the various motives that prompted such a large-scale colonial movement, the Greeks themselves tell us many times and in many ways that they were forced to leave home to search for a new place to live; they are unwilling colonists, driven from home by a myriad of catastrophic disasters.[6] In fact, Greek colonial discourse in general tends to emphasize those aspects of colonization that concern leaving Greece; the accounts are much more vague about the colonists' ultimate destination and what happens after they arrive on foreign soil.[7]

Crisis motivates movement, and a colonial tale above all must account for travel from one land or city to another.[8] The kind of crisis varies, of course, and by reviewing a wide range of colonial tales, we can map out the many variants. On a very basic level, some say that a shortage of land or food in mainland Greece, exacerbated or even created by natural disaster, led them to consider overseas settlement. Thera, for example, is said to have colonized Cyrene because of a seven-year drought.[9] Strabo tells us that Rhegium was founded by Chalcidians who were dedicated as a tithe to Apollo because of crop failure; from Delphi, they were sent forth on a colonial expedition.[10]

Overpopulation is certainly connected to this pressing need for productive land, and Plato, in the *Laws*, mentions colonization as a method of population control for his hypothetical state:

> Moreover, in the end, if there is a complete failure in keeping the number of five thousand and forty households constant, if there is an increase in the population on account of the mutual affection between those who cohabit, and we find ourselves at a loss, the age-old contrivance is at hand—which we have often spoken of—we can send out colonies of such persons as is appropriate, as friends setting out from friends. (740e)[11]

Overpopulation, or too many people competing for a limited source of livelihood, is at the root of another variant of the colonial narrative as well, one in which family members contest the inheritance of the family fortune or power. Herodotus tells us

that Theras, for example, was once regent for his two infant nephews at Sparta. But when the boys grew up and took over the government, Theras found it difficult to relinquish the rule and return to a subordinate position after having had a taste of power. As a result, he led an expedition to the island of Callista, which he colonized and named for himself.[12]

Often these familial conflicts arise between brothers, and this narrative scenario is a familiar one from Greek literature: two brothers competing for a single throne. Bacchylides recounts a dispute between brothers that prompts the founding of Tiryns.[13] Herodotus tells us that the Spartan Dorieus embarked upon a colonial expedition because he could not tolerate being ruled by his brother, Cleomenes.[14] Pausanias records a similar dispute between two brothers that prompted the Athenian settlement of Ionia. Medon and Neleus, sons of the Athenian king Codrus, quarreled over who would inherit the throne. Neleus refused to allow his brother to rule over him because Medon was lame in one foot. The boys were thus sent to Delphi to resolve their differences, and the priestess gave Athens to Medon to rule and told Neleus to settle Ionia with his other brothers.[15]

We can read the tale of two brothers competing for a single throne as a kind of narrative metonomy for political stasis; the two brothers represent rival factions competing for power within a single city. Political crisis, as such, appears as a motive in colonial traditions as well; often the colonists are the losing faction in a civil war. The Partheniae, expelled from Lacedaemonia after the Messenian War, for example, founded the colony of Tarentum.[16] Himera was founded by Chalcidians from Zancle together with some political exiles from Syracuse—the Myletidae, who had been defeated in a party struggle.[17] Menecles of Barca claims similarly that political strife was the reason Battus led the Theraean colonial expedition to Cyrene.[18]

There is a strong tendency in Greek narrative of all kinds to personalize public action, and as we have already seen, the motivation for colonial efforts is often expressed in private or personal terms.[19] Just as two brothers quarreling over status and power within an individual family can represent civic stasis in a larger sense, an individual's personal, often physical, trauma can also substitute within the tale for larger civic problems. The case of Thera's colonization of Cyrene is a good illustration. As part of his detailed account of the foundation of Cyrene, Herodotus includes two versions of the crisis that caused the Theraeans to consult the Delphic oracle. According to the Theraean account, when those consulting the oracle ignored its first command to found a city in Libya, a seven-year drought fell upon Thera, which ultimately led to the settlement of Cyrene.[20] According to the tradition attributed to the Cyreneans, however, Herodotus says that Battus suffered from a speech defect and this caused him to consult Delphi and eventually establish the colony.[21] In one account, the motivation is a personal, physical trauma (Battus' stutter), and in the other version, it is a civic, natural disaster (drought); on the narrative level, however, the two are synonymous; they both motivate the progression of the narrative, and Herodotus himself underscores the interchangeablility of public and private crisis. After Battus consults Delphi about his speech defect, but before the colony is successfully established, Herodotus observes that "everything began to go wrong, both with Battus himself and the others on the island."[22]

The clearest case of this narrative intersection of personal and civic crisis as the

motivation for colonization is murder. Strabo informs us that Orestes, when in exile for killing his mother, founded a city and called it Argos Oresticum. We learn from Apollodorus that Aetolus, an Elean by birth, killed Apis accidentally and fled to the country of the Couretes, which subsequently took his name. Similarly, Aeolus killed his stepmother, fled his home in Metapontum, and founded a city called Lipara.[23]

The range of motives that initiate the colonial narrative describe colonization as a response to disaster or crisis. Rarely is there explicit mention of the commercial or agricultural benefits that must have lured the colonists to explore new sites; instead colonial tales emphasize the negative factors—natural, political, personal, and physical—that encouraged the colonists to leave mainland Greece. Downplaying the positive or lucrative aspects of colonization, the colonial narrative describes the colonists as unwilling exiles in desperate search of a new place to live.

Delphic Consultation

The next step in the narrative, the first step toward resolving the crisis at home, is to consult the Delphic oracle. The hero of the colonial narrative is the expedition leader, called an oikist, and it is his responsibility to seek the official sanction of Delphic Apollo.[24] Occasionally, instead of the oikist asking Apollo specifically about a colony, some colonial tales describe an unsuspecting citizen who consults the oracle about an unrelated matter but is told instead to lead a colonial expedition. Myscellus of Rhype, for example, consults Apollo about having children and is told to found a colony in Sicily:

> Μύσκελλε βραχύνωτε, φιλεῖ σ' ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων,
> καὶ γενεὰν δώσει· τόδε δὲ πρότερόν σε κελεύει,
> οἰκῆσαί σε Κρότωνα μέγαν καλαῖς ἐν ἀρούραις.
>
> Myscellus, short-in-the-back, Apollo the far-darter loves you and will give you offspring. But first he commands this for you, that you make your home in mighty Croton among the fair ploughland. (Diod. 8.17.1)

Similarly, as we have seen, the Theraean Battus asks about his stuttering problem and receives a response ordering him to settle Libya.[25] This "surprised oikist" motif obviously supports the theme of reluctance in the colonial narrative and underlines Apollo's legitimating role in the colonization process; it shifts the initiative (and responsibility) for foreign settlement from the colonists to the god.[26]

More commonly, however, the leader is chosen first, and he then consults Apollo about the settlement. Herodotus preserves an account of the Spartan Dorieus' reasons for founding a colony, and in telling the story, the historian reveals the customary importance of consulting Delphic Apollo before setting out on a colonial expedition. Anaxandrides, king of Sparta, was happily married but without children. The Ephors became worried about the lack of heirs for the throne and forced the king to take another wife who would be able to give him children. The second wife immediately conceived and produced an heir, Cleomenes. Coincidentally, the first wife also became pregnant, and she too gave birth to a boy, Dorieus.

Now, as the story goes, the younger son, Dorieus, was a young man of excellent skills and with every qualification to inherit the throne. Cleomenes, on the other hand, was crazy, but he was the elder son, and so he succeeded to the kingship.

Dorieus was furious that his qualifications should be overlooked and that he should be ruled by Cleomenes. He then decided to leave Sparta and found a colony. But in his haste and anger, Herodotus tells us, Dorieus did not follow the customary procedures:

> αἰτήσας λεὼν Σπαρτιήτας ἦγε ἐς ἀποικίην, οὔτε τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίῳ χρησάμενος ἐς ἥντινα γῆν κτίσων ἴῃ οὔτε ποιήσας οὐδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων.
>
> He asked the Spartiates for people and led them on a colonial expedition, neither consulting the oracle in Delphi about which land he should go to and settle, nor doing any of the customary things. (5.42.2)

Herodotus tells us that Dorieus' first attempt at colonization was unsuccessful, and he implies that this was precisely because he had failed to consult Delphic Apollo.[27] In this way, Herodotus suggests that consulting Delphic Apollo was one of the "customary" elements of both the colonial experience and narrative.

The nature of the oracular response that the oikist would receive from Delphi varies. Sometimes the oracle contains directions to the new world. Indeed, in his account of Dorieus' foundation experiences, Herodotus suggests that the primary nature of the Delphic inquiry was geographical. Dorieus should have asked Apollo "which land he was to go to and settle" (χρηστηρίῳ χρησάμενος ἐς ἥντινα γῆν κτίσων ἴῃ). Oracles embedded within colonial tales often contain detailed directions or mention clear landmarks which, within the course of the tale, lead the colonists to the site of their new city. For example, after being told to found the colony of Croton, Myscellus received another oracle with specific directions:

> αὐτός σοι φράζει ἑκατήβολος· ἀλλὰ συνίει.
> οὗτος μὲν Ταφίασσος ἀνήροτος, ἥδε δὲ Χαλκίς,
> ἥδε δὲ Κουρήτων . . . ἡ ἱερὰ χθών.
> αἵδε δ' Ἐχινάδες εἰσί· πολὺς δ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ πόντος.
> οὕτω σ' οὐκ ἄν φημι Λακινίου ἄκρου ἁμαρτεῖν
> οὐδ' ἱερᾶς Κριμίσης οὐδ' Αἰσάρου ποταμοῖο.
>
> The far-darter himself points this out to you; pay attention! Here is unploughed Taphiassus, and there Chalcis; the land of the Curetes . . . the sacred land, and these are the Echinades. Great is the ocean to the left. Thus I would expect you not to miss the Lacinian cape, nor sacred Crimisa, nor the river Aesarus. (Diod. 8.17.1)[28]

Plutarch also includes directions to colonial sites among a list of the things that are prophesied by the Delphic oracle:

> πολλὰ γὰρ ἐφράζετο καὶ τόπων σημεῖα καὶ πράξεων καιροὶ καὶ θεῶν ἱερὰ διαποντίων καὶ ἡρώων ἀπόρρητοι θῆκαι καὶ δυσεξεύρετοι μακρὰν ἀπαίρουσι τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

> For [the oracle] designated many things, such as signs for [recognizing] places, the appropriate times for activities, the shrines of gods across the sea, and unspeakable tombs of heroes, hard to find for men setting forth on a distant voyage from Greece. (*Mor.* 407f)

Plutarch subsequently names several expedition leaders—among them Battus and Phalanthus—who used the oracular directions to discover the land that had been given them.[29]

Another way that Delphic oracles provide directional help for colonial founders is by designating an animal guide. Several colonial tales record oracles from Apollo that tell them to follow specific animals to the site of the new colony. A fish and a wild boar lead the colonists to Ephesus, for example. According to Callimachus, Battus is led to Cyrene by a crow. Ilus, on the other hand, founded Ilium on the spot where a speckled cow lay down. Argilus in Thrace was founded, in obedience to an oracle, on the spot where a mouse appeared, and the town was called Argilus after the Thracian word for mouse.[30] The narrative motif of the animal guide may derive from the *ver sacrum,* or sacred spring ritual, which was more common in Rome but also attested in Greece. This ritual demanded that part of a community be dedicated as a "first fruits offering" to Apollo in return for relief from some natural disaster such as drought or as part of a bargain to win a war. Often these citizens, once dedicated to Delphic Apollo, were then sent out as colonists, and one aspect of this ritual is that the colonists are led to their new home by an animal guide.[31]

A final and more complex type of oracular response given to a potential colonial founder is one containing riddling and punning language that must be decoded before the colony can be founded. This kind of oracle thus provides a different, but equally important, kind of sign (σημεῖον) that points the way to the colonial site. Strabo, for example, records the following account, which he inherited from the elegiac poet Callinus, of the settlement of Hamaxitus in the Troad. When the Teucrians arrived from Crete, they received an oracle that bade them "to stay on the spot where the earthborn should attack them," and, he says, the attack took place around Hamaxitus. At nightfall a great multitude of field mice swarmed out of the ground and ate up all the leather in their arms and equipment. The Teucrians interpreted this event as the solution to the puzzling oracle, and they remained there.[32] The settlement of Hamaxitus is thus predicated upon the correct interpretation of signs; the Teucrians recognize the earthborn not as dangerous dragons but as harmless field mice.

The consultation of the Delphic oracle is the turning point in the colonial narrative, and its focus now shifts from Greece and Delphic Apollo to the new world and the oikist. Emblematic of this shift in the narrative is an important ritual practice worth mentioning at this point before moving on to the next stage of the narrative. Upon leaving the metropolis, the oikist kindles a fire from the sacred hearthfire to be transported to the site of the new colony. As Louis Gernet has argued, the public hearthfire is an important symbol of a Greek city's political identity; it is kept in the Prytaneion, a building that belongs to the city and is centrally located in the agora.[33] The transferral of the common hearthfire thus secures the continuity of spirit

between mother city and colony, and this ritual action marks the actual voyage from Greece to the new world.[34]

Colonial Foundation

Although the majority of literary accounts that deal explicitly with colonization stop here on the shores of the new world, the important conclusion to the colonization narrative is contained within other literary contexts, and from these sources, we can piece together the end of the story. As we noted earlier, colonial discourse in general is much more specific about leaving Greece than it is about arriving overseas, and this vagueness of narrative purpose is perhaps reflected in the unwillingness to describe what the colonial landscape looks like. Descriptions of colonial sites are often retrojected into the text of the colonial oracles that prompt the foundation, and this tendency toward proleptic description can be read as part of the general reluctance to treat the actual settlement itself within the colonial narrative proper. A passage from the *Odyssey*, however, mentions the island of the Cyclopes as a possible colonization site, and its physical landscape is described as follows:

> Νῆσος ἔπειτα λάχεια παρὲκ λιμένος τετάνυσται
> γαίης Κυκλώπων οὔτε σχεδὸν οὔτ' ἀποτηλοῦ,
> ὑλήεσσ'· ἐν δ' αἶγες ἀπειρέσιαι γεγάασιν
> ἄγριαι· οὐ μὲν γὰρ πάτος ἀνθρώπων ἀπερύκει,
> οὐδέ μιν εἰσοιχνεῦσι κυνηγέται, οἵ τε καθ' ὕλην
> ἄλγεα πάσχουσιν κορυφὰς ὀρέων ἐφέποντες.
> οὔτ' ἄρα ποίμνῃσιν καταΐσχεται οὔτ' ἀρότοισιν,
> ἀλλ' ἥ γ' ἄσπαρτος καὶ ἀνήροτος ἤματα πάντα
> ἀνδρῶν χηρεύει, βόσκει δέ τε μηκάδας αἶγας.
>
> There is an overgrown island that spreads, away from the harbor, neither nearby the land of the Cyclopes nor far from it, wooded; innumerable wild goats are born there, for no human footsteps disturb them, nor do hunters track them, who in the forest suffer hardships as they haunt the peaks of the mountains; nor is it held by herded flocks, nor farmers, but all its days, neither sown nor plowed, it is bereft of men and nourishes bleating goats. (9.116–24)

The island is uninhabited (οὐ μὲν γὰρ πάτος ἀνθρώπων), nor has it been tamed by agriculture (ἄσπαρτος καὶ ἀνήροτος). The description goes on to explain that the island is not poor (κακή, 131) but would bear all things in season with its plentiful rainfall, unfailing vines, rich soil, and level plow lands (131–35). In sum, it would make a good settlement (νῆσον ἐυκτιμένην, 130).

Clearly, what is being described here is an unspoiled, uninhabited, golden-age land similar to that which Hesiod portrays in the *Works and Days*.[35] In the *Laws*, Plato also recommends unoccupied, self-sufficient territory as the ideal location for a new city. At the beginning of Book IV, Clinias and the Athenian discuss possible sites for their hypothetical city, and the Athenian asks if there will be any state bor-

dering close upon the site. Clinias replies: "Not at all, and that is the reason for settling it. Since there was an emigration from this place long ago, the land has been empty and unused for a long time."[36]

While Plato and the Homeric passage describe the ideal colonial site as abundantly fruitful and uninhabited, Archilochus overlooks the prosperous and fruitful nature of Thasos and describes the island, the site of Paros' colonial expedition, as the bare back of an ass:

> ἥδε δ' ὥστ' ὄνου ῥάχις
> ἔστηκεν ὕλης ἀγρίης ἐπιστεφής·
>
> but this [island], stands like the backbone of an ass, crowned with wild jungle; (Fr.17 T)[37]

The quality of wildness (ὕλης ἀγρίης) is present in Archilochus' description as in the Homeric account, but here with a much more pessimistic tone. In another fragment, Archilochus compares Thasos unfavorably to the land of Siris:

> οὐ γάρ τι καλὸς χῶρος οὐδ' ἐπίμερος
> οὐδ' ἐρατός, οἷος ἀμφὶ Σίριος ῥοάς
>
> For the land is nothing fine nor desired nor lovely, such as that beside the streams of the Siris (Fr.18 T)

In addition, this land, unlike the Homeric island, is already occupied, and Archilochus recalls the hostility between Greeks and the native Thracians as Paros colonized the island of Thasos.[38] While the Homeric passage seems to be influenced by descriptions of ideal, golden-age landscapes, Archilochus' poetry reveals what might lie behind this rhetorical strategy—concerns about settling foreign territory, questions about the nature of the land and of the people who live there.[39]

In mapping out a colonial settlement, as in all other facets of the colonial narrative, each step is presented as the work of the oikist alone, and once the site is chosen, the oikist is responsible for the organization and building of the new city. First, he must make land divisions for the other colonists, and colonial inscriptions show that one of the attractions of colonization was the opportunity for each colonist to acquire his own portion of land. The decree that details Thera's settlement of Cyrene, for example, even guarantees allotments of land to subsequent colonists:

> ἀι μὲν δέ κα κατέχ[ων]-
> τι τὰν οἰκισίαν οἱ ἄποικοι, τῶν οἰκείων τὸγ καταπλέον[τα]
> ὕστερον εἰς Λιβύαν καὶ πολιτήιας καὶ τιμᾶμ πεδέχ[εν]
> καὶ γᾶς τᾶς ἀδεσπότω ἀπολαγχάγεν.
>
> If the colonists establish the settlement, any of their fellow citizens who sail to Libya at a later point shall have a share in citizenship and honors and shall be allotted a portion of the unoccupied land.[40]

Athenaeus specifically mentions a colonist's land allotment when recounting an amusing anecdote attributed to Archilochus about a member of the Syracusan colo-

nial expedition. As part of a long list of profligate and extravagant men, Athenaeus describes Aethiops of Corinth:

> Such a man was Aethiops the Corinthian (as Demetrius of Scepsis says), who is mentioned by Archilochus. It seems that this Aethiops, when voyaging with Archias to Sicily to found Syracuse, was led by his love of pleasure and lack of self-control to give away the allotment of land he was to receive upon arrival to his dinner companion in exchange for a honey cake. (Ath. 4.167d–e)

The oikist is the one to mark out these portions of land and to distribute them to the other members of the expedition. In the mock colonization that takes place in Aristophanes' play *The Birds*, many of the oikist's responsibilities are represented by characters who appear one after the other onstage. One of these is Meton, the surveyor, who comes to measure out the new territory:

> γεωμετρῆσαι βούλομαι τὸν ἀέρα
> ὑμῖν διελεῖν τε κατὰ γύας.
>
> I want to land-survey this air of yours and mete it out by acres. (995–96)[41]

Similarly, Callimachus refers to Apollo in his role as patron deity of colonization as "measuring out the cities of men."[42]

In addition to dividing and distributing the land for his fellow colonists, the oikist marks out the boundaries for the precincts of the gods and for the city itself. In another passage from the *Odyssey*, Homer portrays Nausithous as the founder of Phaeacia and describes the duties of an oikist:

> ἔνθεν ἀναστήσας ἄγε Ναυσίθοος θεοειδής,
> εἶσεν δὲ Σχερίῃ, ἑκὰς ἀνδρῶν ἀλφηστάων
> ἀμφὶ δὲ τεῖχος ἔλασσε πόλει καὶ ἐδείματο οἴκους
> καὶ νηοὺς ποίησε θεῶν καὶ ἐδάσσατ' ἀρούρας.
>
> From here godlike Nausithous had removed and led [them] and settled them in Scheria, far away from men who eat bread; he drove a wall about the city and built houses and established temples of the gods and allotted land holdings. (6.7–10)

Within this composite profile of the oikist, we see that he builds temples and altars for the gods.[43] Pindar as well tells us that Battus, the founder of Cyrene, established altars for the gods as part of his duties as city founder:

> κτίσεν δ' ἄλσεα μείζονα θεῶν,
> εὐθύτομόν τε κατέθηκεν Ἀπολλωνίαις
> ἁλεξιμβρότοις πεδιάδα πομπαῖς
> ἔμμεν ἱππόκροτον
> σκυρωτὰν ὁδόν, . . .
>
> And he founded greater altars for the gods and established for Apollonian processions which protect mortals a straightcut level [path] to be a paved road, resounding with the pounding of horses' hooves . . . (*Pyth.* 5.89–93)

Similarly, Thucydides records that Thucles, the founder of Naxos, set up an altar to Apollo Archegetes outside the city, upon which, whenever sacred embassies sail from Sicily, they first sacrifice.[44]

Finally, as part of founding a colony, the oikist names the new city.[45] In *The Birds*, once Euelpides and Peisthetaerus succeed in forming their new city in the clouds, the chorus asks about the next step, and Peisthetaerus answers, "First we must give the city some great and glorious name."[46] Often, the city takes its name from the oikist himself or from some member of his family. Theras, for example, led his colonial expedition to an island formerly called Callista and named the new colony Thera. Alcmaeon founded a city after being exiled for the murder of his mother and called it Acarnania after his son, Acarnan.[47] Sometimes, a colony takes its name from some aspect of its founding oracle. Aegae in Macedonia, for example, is named after the goats (αἶγες) mentioned in the founding prophecy of Apollo. Gela also takes its name from a Delphic pun on the verb to laugh (γελάω). Finally, the new colony can be named after some geographical phenomenon, a stream or river.[48] Thucydides tells us that Acragas was named after a river; one tradition has it that the name of Rhegium is derived from a pun on the Greek verb to break—ἀναρραγῆναι: Diodorus explains that Sicily was originally a peninsula but later became an island. The isthmus at its most narrow point was subjected to the dash of waves, and a gap was created, hence the place was called Rhegium. Many years later, a city was founded and called by the same name.[49]

Resolution and Context: The Cult of the Founder

The death of the oikist provides the colony with a point of transition from colony to independent city-state and thus marks the solution to the crisis and the end of the colonial narrative. Throughout his lifetime, the founder of the colony occupies a position of power and respect; after his death, he is worshipped through cult as the city's founding hero. The cult of the oikist, a universal practice in Greek colonies, has a great influence on colonial discourse, and for this reason, it is worth reviewing here what we know about this ritual practice. The cult of the founder plays an important role in a new city's ritual life and provides a context for the continued circulation of the metaphors that structure its civic identity.

First, the oikist was customarily buried in the agora, in the center of the city. The Greeks normally buried their dead outside the city limits, and the exception in the case of the founder underlines the civic nature of this cult. The religious function of the agora centers on the identity of the polis. Space devoted to the major Greek deities in the center of the city is reduced, and instead we find cults whose primary duty is to reinforce the city's security.[50] Returning to the passage from *Pythian* 5 about Battus' duties as oikist of Cyrene, we will see that he was buried at the edge of the agora:

ἔνθα πρυ-
μνοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἔπι δίχα κεῖται θανών·
μάκαρ μὲν ἀνδρῶν μέτα
ἔναιεν, ἥρως δ' ἔπειτα λαοσεβής.

> There, having died, he lies apart, at the edge of the agora. Blessed, on the one hand, he lived among men, and then was a hero, honored by the people. (93–95)[51]

This passsage is confirmed by a scholion to Pindar's *Olympian* 1 that tells us it was customary to bury the founder in the center of the city—that is, in the agora.[52]

Second, the cult of the founder was celebrated annually with sacrifices and athletic games. Pindar lists Battus' enjoyment of heroic honors as the culmination of his duties and responsibilities as oikist. Because of his position as founder, he was honored by men while alive and then worshipped as a hero after death.[53] Pausanias mentions that the cult of Theras, the eponymous founder of Thera, was still celebrated in his day; he confirms this as an annual event:

> καὶ οἱ καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ Θηραῖοι κατὰ ἔτος ἐναγίζουσιν ὡς οἰκιστῇ.
>
> And the Theraeans even now still honor him every year as an oikist. (3.1.8)

As to the nature of these annual celebrations, Herodotus, in his discussion of Miltiades the elder, says that when Miltiades died, the people he ruled, the Dolonci from the Thracian Chersonese, honored him in an exceptional manner—in the manner due to an oikist:

> οἱ τελευτήσαντι Χερσονησῖται θύουσι ὡς νόμος οἰκιστῇ. καὶ ἀγῶνα ἱππικόν τε καὶ γυμνικὸν ἐπιστᾶσι.
>
> Since he died, the people of the Chersonese sacrifice to him as is customary [to honor] a city founder; they hold chariot races and athletic contests. (6.38.1)

It was customary, then, to celebrate the founder's cult with sacrifices and games. In fact, Pindar, in *Olympian* 7, mentions that the victor, Diagoras, competed twice at the games held in honor of the founder of Rhodes, Tlepolemus, and that sacrifices were part of the celebration.[54]

Diodorus provides us with another profile of a founder's career, which also includes immortal honors after death. He tells the story of the founding of Tenedos:

> Tennes was the son of Cycnus, who was king of Colone in the Troad. He was a man conspicuous in his excellence. Tennes gathered colonists and made an assault upon an uninhabited island called Leucophrys. He portioned out allotments of land to those arranged under him and founded a city named after himself—Tenedos. Serving the city well and bestowing great gifts upon the citizens, he won great favor in his lifetime. Upon his death, he received immortal honors—they built him a sacred precinct and honored him like a god with sacrifices. (5.83.2–3)

Diodorus sums up the colonial narrative well: Tennes gathers colonists and settles an uninhabited land; he divides up the land allotments, and names the city after himself. After death, he receives the honors of a hero.[55]

Independent of the metropolis, the founder's cult belongs entirely to the new city; it both represents and protects the city's emerging self-identity—even when that civic identity changes.[56] Thucydides, for example, tells us that the people of

Amphipolis altered their foundation tradition. After the battle of Amphipolis they chose to adopt Brasidas, the Spartan, as their founder in the place of Hagnon, the Athenian:

> After this all the allies, following in full armor, gave Brasidas a public funeral in front of what is now the agora. Thereafter the people of Amphipolis made an enclosure around his [Brasidas'] tomb, and they sacrificed to him as to a hero and honored him by holding games and making annual offerings to him. They officially named him founder of their colony, and they razed all the buildings of Hagnon, destroying everything that could possibly remind them that Hagnon had founded the place. (5.11.1)

Thucydides explains that it had become more politically advantageous for the city to be connected to Spartans than to Athenians at this time; as a result, they exchanged founders. Perhaps surprisingly, it was not perceived as dangerous or threatening to the citizens of Amphipolis to rid themselves of their original founding hero as long as they honored another in his place. The ritual function of the founder's cult is more important than the historical fact of any one individual founder. The Greeks' willingness to play fast and loose with their foundation traditions can also help explain why other important events that occur later in a city's history may be retrojected to the date of its foundation.[57] The Greeks are creative with the details of their foundation tales because these tales do more than merely recount the past; they respond to a continually changing present.

The colonial narrative, then, as we have outlined it, describes founding a colony in the archaic age as a Delphically sponsored solution to civic crisis at home. Once the colony is successfully established, the death of the oikist and the annual celebration of him as founding hero both marks the end of the colonial narrative and provides a context for its continued retelling. As we will see in our subsequent discussion of colonial discourse as it is embedded in the Pindaric ode and Aeschylean drama, the founding hero and his cult play an important role in maintaining the new city's civic identity.

In addition, each of the first three stages in the narrative—crisis, Delphic consultation, city foundation—influences (and is influenced by) a cultural metaphor that provides deeper insight into the ways the Greeks thought about and remembered colonization.[58] Within colonial discourse, murder is emblematic of civic crisis (in all its many versions) as the impetus for colonization. Murder is a crime committed by an individual, but one whose punishment is the responsibility of the entire civic community; colonization as well unites the actions of an individual and his community. But more important, murder (and the purification it requires) describes colonization as the movement from a state of disordered chaos to an ordered new city. The Delphic consultation, the next step in the colonial narrative, motivates and appropriates the use of riddling and punning oracles (together with their solutions) as another way to represent colonization. Enigmatic oracles address and confront vital issues of colonization itself—interpreting a riddling oracle requires an act of verbal discrimination that is homologous to the act of staking out territory upon settling new land. Bilingual puns repatriate foreign words in the same way that colonization hellenizes foreign land.

The first two stages of the colonial narrative, together with their related cultural metaphors, focus on leaving Greece and in particular emphasize Delphic Apollo's role in the colonial process. Now, once the colonial narrative reaches foreign soil, new conceptual strategies and metaphors are necessary. Marriage functions as a third metaphor for describing colonization—one which specifically addresses the contact between Greeks and foreigners once the Greeks arrive in the new world. Purification practices and the solutions to riddling oracles depend upon the concept of division; it is important that everything be separated out into its rightful place. Marriage, on the other hand, is an integrative institution and thus provides a model for the productive union of foreign and Greek. The following three chapters will take up each of these three models in an attempt to explore the metaphors and rich modes of thought that the Greeks adopt to conceptualize and represent the phenomenon of colonization. What does founding a city have in common with being exiled for murder? Why is it like solving a riddle? marriage? In answering questions like these, in learning to "think with" the Greek colonists, we begin to appreciate the complexities of the archaic colonization movement and its continued importance in Greek life.[59]

Notes

1. This is a topic I intend to pursure in further detail in the future. Genre in the archaic period was determined by occasion, not by topic or theme, and there was no specific occasion for performing foundation poetry. Instead, stories of city foundations were embedded in many other kinds of poetic and prose accounts. For definitions of genre in the archaic period along these lines, see Harvey 1955; Rossi 1971; Calame 1974.

2. We should note here that Victor Turner's model of social drama (breach, crisis, redressive action, reintegration or recognition of schism) precisely fits this narrative sequence. See Turner 1974 pp. 23–59, esp. pp. 37–42, for his definition of the four stages of a social drama. There is, in fact, another kind of narrative used to describe the foundation of cities whose pattern is "god rapes nymph, and nymph then gives her name to the city founded at the spot of the rape." In Chapter 4, I will discuss this alternative narrative pattern in more detail and its relations to the pattern discussed here.

3. Boedeker 1993 discusses this episode along these lines.

4. See Szegedy-Maszak 1978.

5. See Sahlins 1981 for his theory for understanding historical change within the framework of mythical continuity. White 1978 p. 86 elaborates the role narrative plays in this project.

6. For discussions by modern historians of the motivations of the archaic colonial movement, see Gwynn 1918; Blakeway 1933; Snodgrass 1980; Graham 1982; Ridgway 1990.

7. Cf. Moggi 1983 p. 986. Colonial accounts faithfully record the name of the mother city, for example, and that of the founder; they also record the circumstances in the mother city which necessitate colonization, but they say very little about what happens when the Greeks arrive at the site of the colony.

8. There are, of course, other ways to motivate movement, and for this reason, the colonial narrative often intersects with traditions of itinerant heroes—those already on the road. The return from the Trojan War, for example, provides the narrative pretext for many a colonial tale. See, for example, Metapontum: Strab. 6.1.15; Croton: Strab. 6.1.12; Amphi-

lochian Argos: Thuc. 2.68; cf. Strab. 7.7.7. Colonial traditions borrow from the itineraries of other mythological figures as well. Diodorus (5.60.4–5) tells us that the city of Cyrnus was founded when Inachus sent Cyrnus, one of his high commanders, out to look for his daughter, Io, and warned him not to return without her. Cyrnus searched over many parts of the inhabited world, but when he could not find Io, he put ashore in Caria on the Chersonese and founded a city there named after himself. Cf. Ap. Rhod. (*Argon.* 4.514–21) for a similar story about the Colchians who had been sent out by King Aeetes to capture Medea and the golden fleece and were afraid to return home empty-handed. The legendary travels of Heracles have also been entwined with several colonization accounts: Sardinia: Diod. 4.29.1; Psophis: Paus. 8.24.1. Colonial legends borrow from the well-established prestige of heroic figures just as many Greeks trace individual family genealogies back to important deities and heroes. In addition, by linking the foundation of their city to the labors of Heracles or the Trojan War heroes, the colonists of the archaic period can claim prior rights to the land that they have just settled—an important consideration since, in many cases, the Greek colonists occupied land at the expense of indigenous populations.

9. Hdt. 4.151.1.

10. Strab. 6.1.6.

11. Notice that Plato presents colonization as an "age-old contrivance," a well-established method for population control. Cf. *Laws* 707e where it is suggested that those comprising a settlement would be "volunteers from all parts of Crete—the masses in the various communities presumably having grown too great for the local food supply."

12. Hdt. 4.147.2–3. Cf. Labate 1972 pp. 92–94.

13. Bacchyl. 11.59–81.

14. Hdt. 5.42.

15. Pausanias 7.2.1. See Parke and Wormell 1956 vol. 1 p. 57; the oracle received by the brothers is included in their catalogue #300. Cf. Burnett 1988 for the suggestion that this theme of fraternal conflict (Polyneices and Eteocles) within a colonial context is present in the Lille Stesichorus fragment as well.

16. Strab. 6.3.2. An external threat could motivate the move as well; Herodotus (1.164–68) explains that the colonists of both Elea and Abdera left their Ionian homelands in order to escape the threatening tyranny of Harpagus. Plato mentions these political factors among other motives for colonization in the *Laws* 708b. He describes colonists as "being either squeezed out by lack of room or forced by some other such pressing need. At times, too, the violence of civil strife might compel a whole section of a state to emigrate; and on one occasion an entire state went into exile, when it was totally crushed by an overpowering attack."

17. Thuc. 6.5.1.

18. *FGrH* 270 F6.

19. See Labate 1972 for a discussion of individual initiative as a *topos* in colonization tales.

20. Hdt. 4.150–53.

21. Hdt. 4.154–58.

22. Hdt. 4.156.

23. Argos Oresticum: Strab. 7.7.8; cf. Eur. *Or.* 1643–52. Aetolia: Apollod. 1.7.6. Lipara: Diod. 4.67.4–6.

24. For discussions of the evidence for the extent of Delphic Apollo's involvement in the archaic colonization movement, see Forrest 1957; Lombardo 1972; Graham 1982; Malkin 1987a; Morgan 1990 pp. 172–78. For the archeological evidence concerning the dates of Apollo's cult and oracle at Delphi, see Roux 1976; Rolley 1983; Morgan 1990 pp. 148–90. See Sourvinou-Inwood 1987b for the problems with reading the myth of Apollo's installation

at Delphi as history. Again, I am not concerned here with the realia of Delphi's role in the colonial movement, but with the role of the Delphic oracle in the colonial narrative.

25. Hdt. 4.155.3.

26. Cf. Malkin 1987a pp. 27–28; "surprised oikist" is his term.

27. Subsequently, Dorieus did consult the god to find out if his new plan would be successful, namely acquiring the territory in western Sicily that had originally been conquered by Heracles. The Pythia says yes, but as Herodotus explains, Dorieus was unsuccessful again—this time because he was distracted from his original plan.

28. Cf. Strab. 6.1.12 = Antiochus *FGrH* 555 F10.

29. Plut. *Mor.* 408a. It is not necessary that these directions actually be helpful to the colonists when they land on foreign shores, but geographical details explicitly included within the oracle would continue to stake out a claim to the territory long after the Greeks orginally founded the colony.

30. Ephesus: Ath. 361d–e; Cyrene: Callim. *Ap.* 65–68; Ilium: Apollod. 3.12.3; Argilus: Heraclid. Pont. *De rebus publicis* 42 (*FHG* ed. Müller p. 224).

31. Strabo (5.4.12) provides the evidence that this ritual may have been observed in Greece as well as Rome. See Heurgon 1957 for a complete discussion of the ritual. See Pease 1917; Vian 1963 for discussions of animal guides within colonial tales.

32. Strab. 13.1.48.

33. Gernet 1981 p. 328; see Burkert 1985 pp. 60–64 on fire rituals in general.

34. Graham 1964 p. 25: "The intention of this ritual act was clearly to make the new community in the deepest possible way continuous with the old." Cf. Gernet 1981; Malkin 1987a pp. 114–34. At the hearth, a city extends civic hospitality to strangers; Aristotle (*Pol.* 1322b26ff) tells us that it is the source of public authority. As a guarantee of its efficacy, the fire must be periodically renewed. Plutarch (*Mor.* 296f–297a) tells us that when the hearthfire at Plataea was defiled during the Persian wars, for example, it was restored from the hearth at Delphi. This renewal of fire, subsequently an annual event, assures the perpetuation of the community at large.

35. Hesiod *WD* 109–20. Cf. Nagy 1990b pp. 73–74. Although I would argue that the point of this golden-age colonial description is to emphasize the island's lack of previous civilization more than (or at least as much as) its wealth.

36. Plato *Laws* 704c. Earlier he has mentioned that the site has excellent harbors and is practically self-sufficient.

37. Cf. Joseph Bank's description of Cape Everard, Victoria: "It resembled in my imagination the back of a lean cow, covered in general with long hair, but nevertheless where her scraggy hip bones have stuck out further than they ought accidental rubbs and knocks have entirely bar'd them of their share of covering" (cited in Hughes 1987 p. 53).

38. Frs. 19, 88, 120 (Tarditi). Cf. Graham 1978 pp. 61–98.

39. The nature of the relationships between the Greeks and the native populations is a significant gap in the colonial narrative. Much work has been done recently on this topic, see Moggi 1983; the essays collected in *Modes de contact*; the essays in Descoeudres 1990.

40. Meiggs and Lewis 1969 No. 5 lines 30–33; cf. Graham 1964 pp. 224–26 for translation and text. The Brea decree also makes provisions for allotments of land; cf. Graham 1964 pp. 228–29.

41. Arrowsmith's (1961) translation.

42. Callim. *Ap.* 55–56: Φοίβῳ δ' ἑσπόμενοι πόλιας διεμετρήσαντο ἄνθρωποι.

43. In establishing the religious precincts for the gods, the colonies used the strategic placement of temples and altars as a way both to reinforce ties with the mother city and to establish a sense of a Greek civic identity in the face of the native cultures. Cults and altars

were built in the center of the city, clustered in and around the agora, which provide a connection and sense of continuity with the metropolis. The hearthfire, transported by the oikist from the mother city, occupies a central place in the new colony as well. On the outskirts of the civic territory, sanctuaries were also established to delineate the boundaries between Greek and foreign territories. For a discussion of this bi-polar nature of Greek civic religion see de Polignac 1984.

44. Thuc. 6.3.1. Cf. Malkin 1986 on the origins and significance of altar to Apollo Archegetes.

45. Thuc. 4.102.3–4 on Amphipolis.

46. Ar. *Av.* 808–10.

47. Thera: Paus. 3.1.7–8; Acarnania: Thuc. 2.102.5–6. Cf. Malkin 1985 on eponymous founders and names of colonies in the historical period.

48. In the *Laws* 704a, Plato gives several suggestions for the source of a new city's name; it might be derived from some local phenomenon, a river or spring, or some local deity might give the colony its name. Obviously, a city name can be derived from more than one source. We will discuss these important multiple and "folk etymologies" further in Chapter 3.

49. Acragas: Thuc. 6.4.4; Rhegium: Diod. 4.85.3.

50. See Martin 1951 pp. 197–201 for a discussion of the burial of city founders in the agora. Malkin 1987a pp. 189–240 collects the literary and archeological evidence for the cult of the founder.

51. Cf. scholia at Aristophanes *Plut.* 925: "The Cyreneans honor him (Battus) as the Archegetes."

52. Drachmann 1964 vol. 1 p. 49: οἱ γὰρ οἰκισταὶ ἐν μέσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐθάπτοντο ἐξ ἔθους.

53. In the case of Cyrene, we are fortunate to have archeological corroboration of the founder's tomb, located as Pindar describes, at the edge of the agora. See Stucchi 1965 pp. 58–65; Malkin 1987a pp. 214–16.

54. Pind. *Ol.* 7.77–82.

55. One significant omission, however, is the Delphic consultation.

56. Martin 1951 pp. 198–201. He remarks that these agora cults are especially important in the colonies that are less closely allied with the religious tradition of the mainland cities; instead, the colonies make the founding hero responsible for protecting the city. See also de Polignac 1984 p. 145: burial in the center of the city replicates the movement from outside to inside, which is part of the formation of the city.

57. A comparable phenomenon happens in our culture where many prominent events in American history are said to have taken place on the fourth of July. See also Bérard 1983 p. 57 on the relative flexibility of hero cult with respect to other religious sanctuaries. He observes that a city will revamp its founding hero as is needed; there is no real difference between a mythical archegetes and historical oikists from this point of view.

58. On the conceptual use of metaphor, see, for example, White 1973; 1978; Geertz 1973; 1983; Turner 1974; Sahlins 1981; the essays collected in Clifford and Marcus 1986; Lakoff and Turner 1989.

59. Geertz 1973 p. 23 for the methodological model of "thinking with" another society.

2

Murderous Founders

> It is said that Orestes once took possession of Orestias—when in exile for the murder of his mother—and left the country bearing his name; it is also said that he founded a city and called it Argos Oresticum. (Strab. 7.7.8)

The colonial narrative opens at a moment of civic crisis—drought, plague, or civil unrest threatens the security and stability of the city. Alternatively, personal trauma—childlessness or fraternal conflict—substitutes for civic crisis within the narrative. In either case, the city (or individual) in distress consults the Delphic oracle to learn what must be done, and often Apollo suggests a colonial expedition as the necessary solution to the problem at hand. But perhaps the most striking narrative scenario, one this chapter will investigate further, describes the city founder as a murderer sent into permanent exile. Plutarch, for example, tells the following such account of the colonial foundation of Syracuse:

> Melissus had a son named Actaeon, the most handsome and modest young man of his age; he had many lovers, especially Archias, a descendant of the Heracleidae and the most conspicuous man in Corinth both in wealth and general power. When Archias was not able to persuade the boy to be his lover, he decided to carry him off by force. He gathered together a crowd of friends and servants, and they went to Melissus' house in a drunken revelry to try to take the boy away. Actaeon's father and friends resisted; the neighbors ran out and helped pull against the assailants, and in the end Actaeon was pulled to pieces and killed. The boys then ran away, and Melissus carried the corpse of his son into the marketplace of the Corinthians and showed it, asking reparations from those who had done these things. But the Corinthians did nothing more than pity the man. Unsuccessful, Melissus went away and waited for the Isthmian festival where he went up to the temple of Poseidon and decried the Bacchiadae and reminded the god of his father Habron's good deeds. Calling upon the gods, he threw himself down from the rocks. Not long after this, drought and plague befell the city. When the Corinthians consulted the god about relief, he told them that the anger of Poseidon would not subside until they sought punishment for Actaeon's death. Archias learned these things since he was one of those consulting the oracle, and he decided of his own free will not to return to Corinth. Instead he sailed to Sicily and founded the colony of Syracuse. There he became father of two daughters, Ortygia and Syracusa, and was treacherously killed by Telephus, his lover who had sailed with him to Sicily, in charge of a ship. (*Mor.* 772e–773b)

This elaborate colonial account contains many intriguing narrative details—unrequited love, plague, suicide—but perhaps the most surprising is the element of murder. Not all accounts of the colonization of Syracuse, however, tell this same story. Thucydides, in fact, tells a much simpler version of the settlement of Syracuse:

> Archias, one of the Heracleidae from Corinth, founded Syracuse, having first expelled the Sicels from the island where the inner city now is—though it is no longer surrounded by water. (6.3.2)

The basic facts of the settlement remain the same (Archias, the Heracleidae, Corinth), but the discrepancies between the two accounts raise some interesting questions about how the Greeks reconciled mythically the invasive reality of colonization with their ideals of autochthony or a peaceful coexistence with indigenous peoples. Plutarch recounts a story of murder that results in a colonial expedition. Thucydides, on the other hand, omits the murder of Actaeon, but instead describes the forcible expulsion of native Sicels that followed the Greek settlement of the colonial site. Given the nature and scarcity of our sources, we can probably never know "what really happened" (and this is not a question I want to ask), but we can still learn a great deal about how the Greeks conceptualized colonization from the kinds of stories they tell. In this chapter, we will see that Plutarch's version of the colonization of Syracuse is, in fact, part of a larger pattern of colonial representation dating back to the Homeric poems—one that omits mention of the bloodshed inherent in colonizing foreign lands and substitutes for it stories of Greek colonists as murderers in exile.

If we return to Plutarch's account of the founding of Syracuse, we recognize the pivotal role that the Delphic oracle plays in the colonial narrative.[1] Here, an act of murder precipitates civic pollution, which in turn prompts the consultation of the oracle. The recommended solution is that the murderer be sent into exile to expiate the crime; the exile begins as punishment for Actaeon's murder but then becomes Syracuse's founding expedition. This particular tale closely adheres to the colonial narrative pattern we outlined in the first chapter, but what lies behind this variant? Why focus on a crime like murder as the way to describe the impetus for colonization? Callimachus, writing centuries after the archaic colonization movement, praises Apollo for helping men found cities in such a way that suggests a connection between the purification that murder demands and the institution of colonization. Apollo and his oracle at Delphi were especially instrumental in founding Callimachus' birthplace, the Theraean colony of Cyrene, and Callimachus tells the story of its foundation as part of his hymn to Apollo. When he invokes Apollo here as founder of cities, Callimachus calls him Phoebus; in fact, he emphatically refers to the god as Phoebus three times in three lines:

> Φοίβῳ δ' ἑσπόμενοι πόλιας διεμετρήσαντο
> ἄνθρωποι· Φοῖβος γὰρ ἀεὶ πολίεσσι φιλῆδεῖ
> κτιζομένῃσ' , αὐτὸς δὲ θεμείλια Φοῖβος ὑφαίνει.
>
> Following Phoebus men measured out their cities, for Phoebus always takes pleasure in the establishment of cities; Phoebus himself weaves their foundations. (*Ap.* 55–57)

Traditionally in Greek literature, as Phoebus, Apollo purifies men; he cleanses their houses and cities of pollution.[2] In this specific context, however, such a choice of appellation is puzzling—why invoke a cathartic Apollo to build cities? Callimachus gently challenges us, I think, to make a connection between purification and colonization, and that connection is Phoebus Apollo, the god who weaves the foundations of cities.

Surely, as Irad Malkin has suggested, Apollo's role in the Callimachean hymn is metaphorical, but identifying the metaphor is only half the battle—we must now ask how it works.[3] Why is Phoebus Apollo, a purifying deity, an appropriate metaphorical guide for Greek colonists? Literary theorists and anthropologists alike tell us that metaphors function as a conceptual framework for describing the unknown in terms of the known, and my plan is to unpack Callimachus' metaphor along these lines. In this chapter, I will first focus on Apollo and the purification process that murder demands as a conceptual analogy, a metaphor, to describe colonization. Second, I will ask how this conceptual analogy is in turn linked to a particular variant of the colonial narrative, one in which a murderer consults Delphi to be purified and is told to found a colony.

First, let us explore Apollo's role as a purifier of murderers and its relevance for colonial representation. Apollo is an important civic deity for the Greeks, and he helps maintain a sense of cosmic and civic order by providing the necessary purification once a city is threatened by some sort of pollution or miasma. The concept of pollution is less a system of rationalization than a vehicle for the expression of social disruption: pollution represents chaos, and purification corresponds to the subsequent restoration of order to society.[4] It is especially the need for purification in cases of murder that demands Apollo's participation and provides the connection with colonization legends.[5]

In the epic poems, homicide disturbs civic or community order, and this threat is addressed by sending the murderer directly into exile.[6] Exile appears as early as Draco's law as well as the punishment for unintentional homicide.[7] Although this penalty for unintentional homicide may reflect a sense of reduced culpability—premeditated murder could be punished by death—the ensuing pollution was perceived to be equally dangerous to the community at large.[8] The time frame and the route of exile were carefully prescribed; even the unintentional killer must keep out of Attica and away from games and festivals attended by all Greeks. If he returned, he could be killed.[9] In the *Laws*, Delphi is considered the arbiter of purification practices such as exile for murder, and Plato tells the following "ancient tale" (ἀρχαίων μύθων) as the rationale behind this punishment:

> It is said that the man killed by violence, who has lived in a free manner, when newly dead is angry with his killer, and he himself is filled with dread and horror on account of the violence suffered; when he sees his own murderer going about in the very spots which he himself had frequented, he is terrified; and being disturbed himself, he disturbs the killer as much as possible (having memory as his ally)—both the man himself and all his doings. For this reason the killer must keep clear of his victim for all the seasons of an entire year, and he must avoid the dead man's usual spots throughout his native country. (*Laws* 865d–e)

Similarly in the *Third Tetralogy* attributed to Antiphon, the speaker for the prosecution argues that "the victim, robbed of the gifts bestowed by god upon him, naturally leaves behind him the angry spirits of vengeance, god's instruments of punishment."[10] Not just a personal matter between murderer and victim, it was considered a civic responsibility to address cases of homicide, for if an act of murder was not avenged or acknowledged in some way, the whole community would suffer. Following this same logic of contamination, the defendant in a speech of Antiphon claims as evidence of his innocence that he has never brought disaster to the community at large:

> I hardly think I need remind you that many a man with unclean hands or some other form of defilement who has embarked on shipboard with the innocent has involved them in his own destruction. Others, while they have escaped death, have had their lives imperiled owing to such polluted wretches. Many, too, have been proved to be defiled as they stood beside a sacrifice, because they prevented the proper performance of the rites. With me, the opposite has happened in every case. Not only have fellow-passengers of mine enjoyed the calmest of voyages; but whenever I have attended a sacrifice, that sacrifice has invariably been successful. (*On the Murder of Herodes* 82–83)

The *Tetralogies* resound with the constant refrain, expressed by the prosecution and defense alike, of the jurors' responsibility to convict and punish the killer. Failure to do so results in the pollution of the entire city.[11] In the *First Tetralogy*, the prosecution concludes its first speech with the reminder that it is against the public's interest to allow the polluted murderer to move about freely:

> οἰκείαν οὖν χρὴ τὴν τιμωρίαν ἡγησαμένους, αὐτῷ τούτῳ τὰ τούτου ἀσεβήματα ἀναθέντας, ἰδίαν μὲν τὴν συμφοράν, καθαρὰν δὲ τὴν πόλιν καταστῆναι.
>
> And so you must hold the avenging of the dead a personal duty; you must punish the defendant himself for his impieties; you must see that the disaster is his alone and that the city is made pure. (I.11)

In the prosecution's second speech, he expresses the connection between individual murderer and the whole city quite succinctly:

> ταῦτα οὖν εἰδότες βοηθεῖτε μὲν τῷ ἀποθανόντι, τιμωρεῖσθε δὲ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα, ἁγνεύετε δὲ τὴν πόλιν.
>
> So with this in mind, help the victim, punish the killer, and cleanse the city. (III.11)

All three actions—helping the victim, punishing the killer, and purifying the city—are described as different aspects of the same process. Exile, the customary method of punishing a murderer, helps the victim by keeping the killer away from his home, and it cleanses the city by ridding it of a defiled and potentially dangerous element.

The law demands that a murderer go into exile, and Delphic Apollo and his oracle oversee this punishment. At this point, in some colonial tales, the murderer's

exile overlaps with the start of a colonial expedition: a murderer consults Delphic Apollo to be purified and is sent into exile; this exile becomes the impetus to found a colony.[12] Before we look at how a murderer in exile represents colonization, I want to introduce another type of colonial tale which, as we will see, works in much the same way. This variant describes its founders as political dissidents, forced to leave home in search of new territory as the losing party in a city's internal conflict or as victims of a new oppressive regime. The Partheniae, for example, were denied civic rights at home; they fled Sparta and founded Tarentum in southern Italy.[13] According to Herodotus, the Phocaeans set out on a colonial expedition to escape being captured by the tyrant Harpagus.[14] Menecles of Barca tells us that Battus founded Cyrene, not because of a drought, as Herodotus says, but as a result of political upheaval in Thera.[15] I want to argue here that with respect to representations of colonization, in addition to its comparable function within the narrative, the model of a political exile is structurally similar to that of the murderer who must flee his country. Plato, in fact, considers those who lead insurrections and stir up civil strife to be the moral equivalents of murderers—they both commit crimes against the state.[16] What we must remember is that for the Greeks political dissidence is not a purely secular problem; it threatens the state with religious pollution. Cylon's attempt at tyranny in Athens, for example, was enacted amid religious ritual and festivals, and in the end, the political coup (and ensuing murder) demanded that Epimenides of Crete purify the city.[17] Just as an unpurified murderer poses a threat to the safety not just of an individual but of the whole city, a city's political crisis can also bring religious persecution upon it. In each case—murder or political stasis—the act of an individual or group of individuals threatens the stability and health of the city as a whole. As a result, the impious must be expelled for the good of those who remain. It is the act of exile and the implicit threat to the well-being of the city if certain citizens are not exiled that are the critical elements in this variant of the colonial narrative.

Now that we have established the civic nature of Apollo's role as purifier, we can focus more specifically on our original question—why is it that once new colonies have been successfully established on foreign land, the Greeks choose to describe themselves to themselves and to the rest of the established Greek world as led by murderers or political exiles? How does Apollo the purifier relate to Apollo the colonizer? Another way of posing the question is to ask what colonization and purification have in common as cultural systems. Using contemporary anthropological evidence to provide a framework for exploring the concepts of pollution and purification within the Greek world, we will see that there are three different ways in which purification rituals correspond to colonial activity. Mary Douglas' book, *Purity and Danger*, has been instrumental in describing the related phenomena of pollution and purification, and some of her observations will help us clarify the essential similarities between purification and colonization in archaic Greece.

First, the concept of purification in the Greek mind, as in many other cultures, consists of establishing categories and making divisions; a state of pollution occurs when these categories get confused.[18] Douglas argues that defilement is never an isolated event; it occurs only as part of a systematic ordering of ideas, one which

depends on division. As a result, she warns us that "any piecemeal interpretation of the pollution rules of another culture is bound to fail. For the only way in which pollution ideas make sense is in reference to a total structure of thought whose keystone, boundaries, margins and internal lines are held in relation by rituals of separation."[19] The concept of purification, then, allows a society to regulate the boundaries that it has erected between what it considers sacred and profane, clean and polluted, beneficial and harmful. In Plato's *Sophist*, the interlocutors, Theaetetus and the stranger, discuss the art of division or discrimination (διακριτική), and they, too, conclude that the kind of separation or division that "keeps the better and expels the worse" is called a kind of purification:

> ΞΕ. Πᾶσα ἡ τοιαύτη διάκρισις, ὡς ἐγὼ ξυννοῶ, λέγεται παρὰ πάντων καθαρμός τις.
>
> Str.: Every such discrimination, as I know it, is called by all a kind of purification. (*Soph.* 226d)

Purification is the process of making divisions, and as we have seen, one way to purify a city entails the separation and expulsion of the negative element for the good of the whole citizen body.[20] Similarly, mounting a colonial expedition involves choosing those citizens who will participate and those who will remain behind—another kind of division. And furthermore, the very process of establishing a new city on foreign territory depends upon acts of separation. The founder must divide the land itself into different civic components—he must determine that the proper boundaries between these components are distinguished and observed—boundaries between the sacred and profane, between individual members of the colony, and between the Greek inhabitants and their neighbors.

Second, the process of purification unites individuals into groups; it provides those who have been expelled with the opportunity for a fresh start, and in this respect, it has something in common with initiation rituals and rites of passage—both deal with issues of classification, boundary, and transition.[21] As in rites of passage, a group of colonists is identified that must be expelled from society; its members must cross boundaries, and thus they become dangerous or polluted in the eyes of society. For example, those who were sent to colonize Cyrene were young men chosen from individual households in Thera. They were not allowed to return home when their first foundation attempt failed; instead, those who had stayed behind cursed the young men and pelted them with rocks, refusing to let them land.[22] The colony, however, once successful, provided the Theraeans at home with relief from drought and the colonists themselves with a new identity as settlers of Cyrene.[23] Purification, then, a process of division, provides the mechanism whereby in initiation rituals, the isolated group is first expelled and then reintegrated at a new level into its original society, or, as in the case of colonization, the colonists are exiled from one city and reincorporated into Greek society as citizens of a new civic enterprise.

And finally, the transition from pollution to purification corresponds to the transformation of chaos and confusion into a state of order. Eliminating the dirt reorganizes the environment; it is a positive, creative act. In the same way, found-

ing a colony creates a new civic entity out of the troubles and trauma of the mother city. A colonial legend records the natural imbalance that provoked the colonial expedition in order to highlight the order which is restored, both at home and abroad, precisely by the foundation of a new city.[24] As in the case of Cyrene or Tarentum, the motivation to colonize often comes from natural or political disaster. Drought or internal stasis forces a city to expel part of its population thereby reordering the cosmic and civic environment and, in addition, creating a new city out of that which had to be discarded.

Rituals of purification, then, provide the Greeks with a conceptual model with which to describe colonization in terms of the expulsion of part of its population, its galvanization of individuals into a unified group, and its creative role in founding a new city. A city's need to colonize appears to be very much like its need to be purified. Plato, in fact, in the *Laws*, draws together the concepts of pollution, political stasis, and colonization in a way that shows how Apollo's strong link to Greek purification practices informs representations of colonial foundations. He discusses political dissidents and measures to prevent revolutionary action. For Plato, colonization is the polite name for political exile:

> ὅσοι διὰ τὴν τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορίαν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν ἐχόντων μὴ ἔχοντες ἑτοίμους αὑτοὺς ἐνδείκνυνται παρεσκευακότες ἕπεσθαι, τούτοις ὡς νοσήματι πόλεως ἐμπεφυκότι δι' εὐφημίας ἀπαλλαγὴν ὄνομα ἀποικίαν τιθέμενος, εὐμενῶς ὅτι μάλιστα ἐξεπέμψατο.
>
> People who, because they lack the means of sustenance, show themselves ready to follow their leaders in an attack of the have-nots upon the haves, [these people] he [the legislator] sends abroad as a measure of relief, just as in the case of a deep-seated disease of the city, giving it the euphemistic name of colonization. (735e–736a)

Plato provides us with valuable commentary on the choice of metaphor—the Greek way of representing the colonization movement, and we have reason to believe that the connection between the need to colonize and the demand for purification is not just a fiction of Plato's philosophical system. Plato characterizes the impetus for colonization and purification in the same terms—as an exercise in division. The negative element, a political dissident or murderer, is separated from the rest, purified, and given a fresh start. This is not to say that the Greeks cynically manipulated their religious traditions to justify sending large numbers of their own people overseas to solve economic or political problems. Rather, as we saw earlier, in the archaic period religious ideology is firmly embedded in a political and historical context, and modern distinctions between the sacred and the secular are both irrelevant and misleading.[25]

We can now begin to see how the metaphor of purification, in addition to helping the Greeks conceptualize colonization, influences the very shape of individual colonial tales. In a kind of narrative metonymy, the purification of an individual becomes a model for that of the city. A murderer consults Delphic Apollo to be purified and is sent out to found a colony. The tales of purification for murder by

exile, as well as those concerning political dissidents, intersect with the colonial narrative, and the point of contact, the common ground, is Delphic Apollo. The Apollo who purifies becomes the Apollo who colonizes.

Let us turn now to this specific variant of the colonial narrative. First, some additional examples: Pausanias relates a story about murder and the founding of a city in the territory of Megara. In Argos, during the reign of Crotopus, Psamathe, his daughter, gave birth to a son of Apollo's which, fearing her father's anger, she exposed. The child was killed by Crotopus' dogs, and Apollo sent Poine, the personification of vengeance, to punish the Argives. A man named Coroebus killed Poine, but a second plague tormented the Argives. Consequently, Coroebus, of his own accord, went to Delphi to be punished for killing Poine. The Pythia would not allow him to return to Argos, but told him to take up a tripod, leave the sanctuary, and wherever the tripod fell from his hands, build a temple to Apollo and live there himself. At Mt. Gerania, the tripod slipped, and Coroebus lived there in a village called Tripodisci, or Little Tripods.[26] Thucydides tells us that Alcmaeon, son of Amphiaraus, wandered for a long time after killing his mother and eventually founded Acarnania on the advice of the Delphic oracle.[27] Apollonius of Rhodes plays upon this collocation of exile for murder and colonization in the *Argonautica*. When Heracles grows tired of their lengthy stay on the island of Lemnos, he asks Jason in frustration, "Are we exiled for manslaughter?"[28]

These particular colonial tales are also influenced, at least in part, by another, very similar narrative pattern common to Greek mythology and literature in which a murderer flees the wrath of his victim's relatives and goes into permanent exile. As we mentioned earlier, several examples of this pattern appear in the Homeric poems alone. In the *Iliad*, Tlepolemus killed his uncle, left Argos, and settled the island of Rhodes (*Il.* 2.661–69); Patroclus killed a young boy in anger over a game of knuckle-bones and fled with his father to the house of Peleus (*Il.* 23.84–90). In the *Odyssey*, Theoclymenus fled from home and seeks purification and sanctuary from Telemachus after killing a relative (*Od.* 15. 272–78). In Euripides' *Orestes*, Orestes must go into exile after killing his mother (1643–45), and the *Medea* closes with the heroine's flight from Corinth to Athens after the murder of Creon's daughter and her own children.

I would like to suggest that the metaphor of purification for colonization together with this established narrative pattern of murderer-in-exile combine to influence the specific colonial narrative pattern of murderer-turned-founder. Once this particular pattern takes hold, then, it can shape the way the events themselves are represented and subsequently remembered. We saw an example of this reshaping process in the divergent accounts of the founding of Syracuse as recorded by Thucydides and Plutarch. Thucydides describes a colonization expedition led by Archias of Corinth to Syracuse that expelled the native Sicels, while the tradition that Plutarch records omits the Sicels and instead represents Archias as a murderer sent into exile. We should now explore why accounts such as Plutarch's version of Archias and Syracuse come to be told.[29] What is at stake?

Colonial tales such as these focus on the founder as murderer; in addition to participating in the purification analogy, this particular narrative strategy addresses two further aspects of the colonial process. First, commemorating a founding hero as a

source of pollution and impurity contains within it the potential for annexing great power. To understand this apparent contradiction, we must realize that in Greek thought, the concepts of purity and impurity are not mutually exclusive. In fact, the essential connection between the two phenomena is reflected in the etymological association between the Greek words, ἄγος, traditionally translated as pollution or defilement, and ἁγνός/ἅγιος, holy or pure. The linguists Pierre Chantraine and Olivier Masson have shown that these terms are not diametrically opposed; they both refer to the forbidden aspect of the sacred.[30] The difference stems from the fact that the adjective ἁγνός refers to that element of the divine that separates men from gods; it presupposes a barrier that must not be crossed. The term ἄγος, then, designates the consequences of that same sacred power when, once the barrier has been crossed, it captures man and delivers him to the divine.

The Greeks conceptualize defilement as the inversion of a positive religious value; but it still carries religious force. Although blood and dust can bring pollution, they can also consecrate. That which is a source of pollution in one context becomes a source of religious power in another. Teiresias, for example, sees what is forbidden, Pallas Athena bathing; he has crossed the barrier between the human and the divine, and he must be punished. The punishment of blinding, however, contains within it aspects of the sacred, and he gains the power of prophecy.[31] Oedipus, murderer and committer of incest, the source of plague and disaster at Thebes, once exiled, carries a positive religious power to the land that accepts him, Athens. Mary Douglas, in her discussion of the African Lele culture, provides us with an interesting parallel; she describes the cult of the pangolin as one which, in a similar way, combines opposites as a source of power for good. The animal itself, a scaly anteater, is a complex of ambiguities:

> Its being contradicts all the most obvious animal categories. It is scaly like a fish, but it climbs trees. It is more like an egg-laying lizard than a mammal, yet it suckles its young. And most significant of all, unlike other small mammals its young are born singly. Instead of running away or attacking, it curls in a modest ball and waits for the hunter to pass.[32]

On the one hand, the pangolin transgresses most boundaries of animal categories so that normally it is considered taboo; on the other hand, its positive power is released in its dying. The pangolin is ritualized as a source of fertility; it is eaten in solemn ceremony by its initiates, who are thereby enabled to minister fertility to their kind. Not unlike the murderer in Greece who has transgressed sacred boundaries, this category-breaking animal provides a positive source of power to the Lele.[33]

Recognizing that, in the Greek system, pollution is inextricably linked to the sacred makes it easier to understand how individuals can be sources both of defilement and of sacred power. Apollo himself personifies this ambiguity; he purifies murderers precisely because he himself has killed and undergone purification. Fragments of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* refer to a myth in which Zeus kills Asclepius, Apollo's son, because he was jealous of Asclepius' success as a healer. Apollo, in revenge, kills the Cyclopes and is forced to serve as a herdsman to Admetus for a year.[34] Pausanias tells us that Apollo had to go either to Tempe or to Crete to be purified after killing the Python at Delphi.[35] Both these

myths portray Apollo as a murderer, and although his were justifiable killings, he must seek purification. There is a presence in this god of two opposed qualities that are ultimately felt to be complementary.[36]

This interrelationship between the defiled and the sacred, a relationship that is personified in Phoebus Apollo, is quite useful to colonial discourse. By describing their origins as polluted and defiled, as murderers or political exiles, within the structure of the foundation tale, the colonists assume a new, positive, and sacred value as founders of a new city.[37] Following Mary Douglas' lead in viewing the system as a whole, it is critical that we consider the figure of the colonist-murderer not as an isolated phenomenon, only as a source of pollution, but as part of a religious system that channels the religious power inherent in the defiled into a positive, consecrating force.[38]

Second, the narrative motif of founder as murderer addresses another important, and often overlooked, aspect of archaic Greek colonization: founding a colony overseas can be as dangerous and as violent as war. Thucydides, in fact, in Nicias' speech to the Athenians prior to the Sicilian expedition, inverts that metaphor; he describes the proposed all-out military enterprise against Sicily in terms of colonizing foreign territory—each means a dangerous confrontation with hostile peoples and requires a large demonstration of force:

> πόλιν τε νομίσαι χρὴ ἐν ἀλλοφύλλοις καὶ πολεμίοις οἰκιοῦντας ἰέναι, οὓς πρέπει τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἦ ἂν κατάσχωσιν εὐθὺς κρατεῖν τῆς γῆς ἢ εἰδέναι ὅτι, ἢν σφάλλωνται, πάντα πολέμια ἕξουσιν.
>
> We must consider [that we are like] those going to settle a city among foreign and enemy peoples for whom it is necessary, on the very first day which they land, straightaway to conquer the land or know that if they fail, they will encounter complete hostility. (6.23)

The Greeks often settled territory previously occupied by native populations, and Thucydides shows us how dangerous and violent those confrontations could be. Dionysius of Halicarnassus also mentions the violence entailed in founding new cities. In his account of Artimedes' colonization of Rhegium, Dionysius remarks that the oikist solved the oracle which authorized his settlement, and "accordingly, he drove out the barbarians who were in possession of the place and colonized it himself."[39] Two poets, contemporaries of the archaic colonization movement, also mention confrontations between the Greek colonists and local populations. Mimnermus, in a fragment from the *Nanno*, describes the violence of the settlement of Colophon and the *hybris* of the colonists:

> ἡμεῖς αἰπὺ Πύλου Νηλήιον ἄστυ λιπόντες
> ἱμπερτὴν Ἀσίην νηυσὶν ἀφικόμεθα.
> ἐς δ' ἐρατὴν Κολοφῶνα βίην ὑπέροπλον ἔχοντες
> ἐζόμεθ' ἀργαλέης ὕβριος ἡγεμόνες.
> κεῖθεν δ' Ἀστήεντος ἀπορνύμενοι ποταμοῖο
> θεῶν βουλῇ Σμύρναν εἵλομεν Αἰολίδα.

> When we left the lofty city of Neleian Pylos, we came by ship to the pleasant land of Asia; and possessing overwhelming violence, we settled at lovely Colophon, leaders full of terrible *hybris*. From there, we set forth from the Asteis river and by the will of the gods took Aeolian Smyrna. (Strab. 14.1.4)[40]

Archilochus, as we remember, recalls the hostility between Greeks and Thracians as Paros colonized the island of Thasos, and Thucydides, in his introduction to the account of the Sicilian expedition, also mentions that local Sicilian tribes were expelled to make room for the Greek colonists.[41] Archeological evidence confirms the reports of Thucydides and the contemporary poets; it shows precolonial native cultures at sites such as Syracuse or Locri, and these natives cease to occupy the site shortly after or at the time of colonization. T. J. Dunbabin argues that although the first contacts between Greeks and local populations were probably in part peaceful, when it came to official colonial expeditions, the Greeks preferred "the sword to peaceful penetration."[42]

When it comes to the literary traditions that record the archaic colonization movement, with the few exceptions mentioned above, very little explicit attention is paid to the violent, warlike confrontations that must have taken place between the Greek colonists and the native peoples. As we have noted, Greek sources for archaic colonization strategically focus on the metropolis and the leader of the expedition; they are far less informative when it comes to the details of the colonists' destination. As a result, indigenous populations rarely appear in Greek colonial tales. Traces of their presence, however, particularly of their confrontation with the colonists, lurk behind the strategies of colonial discourse. Colonial tales that include murder displace the warlike violence of the colonial expedition itself and relocate it within the tale by virtue of a religious system which can address and expiate that violence. Within colonial discourse, the murderous founder is made to shoulder the burden of the historical violence of settling foreign territory, and his purification as the story unfolds prefigures that of the colonists themselves.

The archaic period was a time of great and rapid change in Greece. As cities faced the challenges of overpopulation, land shortage, economic developments, and political conflicts, overseas colonization proved to be a productive and very successful solution. Whatever the reasons were for consulting the Delphic oracle before founding a colony in the archaic period, the religious symbolism contained within Apollo's role as purification deity is equally important in conceptualizing and describing that process. The Greeks considered colonization to be a kind of purification; their foundation stories consciously record and proudly display their polluted and murderous origins. In reading these accounts of individual city foundations, we need to be aware of the many kinds of influences—political, historical, economic, religious, literary—which can shape the form of the colonial (and other kinds of) narrative. In this discussion of the representation of the founder as a murderer within colonial discourse, I have tried to tease out one such influence, but this is not the only possibility, and in the following two chapters we will explore alternative metaphors for describing colonization.

Notes

1. The god mentioned in this account is undoubtedly Delphic Apollo.

2. Ruipérez 1953 shows that the title Phoebus is a *nomen agentis* derived from φοιβος, purifier, which comes from a root meaning to illuminate or shine bright. He notes a parallel relationship in Latin between *lux, luceo,* and *lustrare* and suggests that this might reflect early forms of purification through fire. Cf. Chantraine 1968–80 pp. 1216–17. See also Versnel 1985–86 p. 135: "the word *Phoibos* is no longer interpreted as 'radiant' but rather as 'cathartic' or 'awful.'" For ancient etymologies along this line, see Plut. *Mor.* 393c; Macrob. *Sat.* 1.17.33; schol. Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.302.

3. Malkin (1987a pp. 142–43) argues that although Callimachus may imply that the entire process of laying out the new city and apportioning the land is sanctioned or even directed by Apollo, we must not assume that the Greek colonists regarded their city plan as divinely ordained. His point is that the primary responsibility for organizing the new city belongs to the human founder. My point here is that the choice of Apollo as a metaphor is significant and needs to be explored further. See Lakoff and Turner 1989 p. 215 who argue that "poetic metaphor, far from being ornamentation, deals with central and indispensable aspects of our conceptual systems. Through the masterful use of metaphoric processes on which our conceptual systems are based, poets address the most vital issues in our lives and help us illuminate those issues, through the extension, composition, and criticism of the basic metaphoric tools through which we comprehend much of reality."

4. Apollo's prophetic powers and the advisory capacity of the Delphic oracle also help establish Apollo in the role of ritual purifier. If someone is sick or a plague attacks a region, the Greeks consistently consult the Delphic oracle as to the cause of the trouble. Cf. Burkert 1985 p. 147 who points out that in responding to pollution a person must discover the action that brought about the miasma. "This, of course, requires superhuman knowledge: the god of purifications must also be an oracle god." See the collections of Delphic responses collected by Parke and Wormell 1956 vol. 2 and Fontenrose 1978 for examples of consultations about plague.

5. Although, as Parker (1983) points out, Apollo has no cultic association with murder pollution (this is Zeus' territory), in myth and legend, it is customary to consult Delphic Apollo to be purified for murder and to be sent into exile. See Parker's Appendix 7 for a list of examples of the exile and purification motif pertaining to the killer in Greek myth, pp. 365–92.

6. Cf. Gagarin 1981 p. 10; he includes a list of all the homicides in the epic poems on pp. 6–10.

7. IG I^2 115 (I^3 104) 10–12. Cf. Stroud 1968 for the text, translation, and analysis of Draco's law on homicide.

8. See MacDowell 1963 pp. 110–29 for the penalties for homicide. The general rules seem to be that a man found guilty of intentional homicide could be punished by death unless he chooses to go into permanent exile (with loss of property) before he is found guilty. A man found guilty of unintentional homicide is sent into exile (with property) until one of the relatives of the deceased pardons him; his return must be accompanied by specific rituals of sacrifice and cleansing (Dem. 23.72).

9. Cf. Dem. 23.72 (exile route); 23.44 (if he returns, he can be killed).

10. *Third Tetralogy* I.3.

11. Myth portrays the city of Thebes suffering a crippling plague because Laius' murderer has not been caught.

12. It comes as no surprise that most "colonial" murders are involuntary or at least

justified (e.g., Orestes) since this fits well with the general pattern of reluctance that marks colonial discourse.

13. Strab. 6.3.3. Ephorus tells us that the Lacedaemonians were at war with the Messenians and swore not to return home until they had destroyed Messene or were all killed. In the tenth year of the war, however, their wives were angry at being abandoned to widowhood and complained that their country was in danger of lacking men. Their husbands then agreed to send the youngest men back home to cohabit with the unmarried women there. The children born of these unions were called the Partheniae.

14. Hdt. 1.164–68.

15. Menecles of Barca *FGrH* 270 F6.

16. Plato *Laws* 856b.

17. For accounts of the Cylonian conspiracy, see Thuc. 1.126; Hdt. 5.71; for Epimenides' purification of Athens, see Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 1; Plut. *Sol.* 12. Cf. Connor 1987a for a more general discussion of how arbitrary the distinctions are that we make on behalf of the Athenians between religious and secular events.

18. Cf. Vernant 1988 pp. 131–32: "A 'besmirchment' seems to indicate some contact that is contrary to a certain order of the world in that it establishes communication between things that ought to remain quite distinct from each other."

19. Douglas 1966 p. 41.

20. Cf. Parker 1983 pp. 18–31 on purification as a "science of division."

21. On rites of passage in general, see Van Gennep 1960. See Parker 1983 pp. 22–23 for discussion of how purification unites individuals into groups. On the similarities between initiation rites and purification rituals in cases of murder, see Burkert 1985 pp. 81–82: "A purification of this kind is clearly in essence a *rite de passage*. The murderer has set himself outside the community, and his reincorporation at a new level is therefore an act of initiation."

22. Hdt. 4.156.

23. Apollo has associations with the Athenian initiation of ephebes, and this connection has been brought to bear on his role as colonizer, for colonists are often young men crossing the threshold into manhood. Cf. Burkert 1985; Harrison 1927 pp. 439–44; Versnel 1985–86 pp. 143–45. De Polignac 1984 pp. 66–74 is also relevant here; he discusses initiation rites as integrative models in the birth of cities.

24. Cf. Vidal-Naquet 1986 p. 206. Talking about myths of origin, he says that "each city pictured for itself the transition 'in the beginning' from chaos to order and from Nature to Culture. The legendary tradition incorporates mythical elements but is felt and described as historical."

25. See Morris 1993 for further discussion of what he calls "the propagandistic fallacy."

26. Paus. 1.43.7. The story has obvious parallels with the *ver sacrum* legends (cf. Heurgon 1957); instead of following an animal, Coroebus carries a tripod. But the tripod marks the location of the new city and gives it its name. Pausanias goes on to say that Coroebus is buried in the agora of Megara (as is customary for city founders; Tripodisci is a village of Megara) and that the story of Psamathe and Coroebus is carved on his stele in elegiacs. There is also a visual representation of Coroebus killing Poine. Pausanias observes that these are the oldest stone images that he is aware of seeing. See *Anth. Pal.* 7.154 for the epigram.

27. Thuc. 2.102.5–6.

28. Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 1.860. Other examples of murderers as city founders include: Aetolia: Apoll. 1.7.6; Athamantia: Apoll. 1.9.2; Argos Oresticum: Strab. 7.7.8; Magnesia: Parth. *Amat. Narr.* 5; Lipara: Diod. 4.67.4; Mycenae: Paus. 2.16.3; Rhodes: Hom. *Il.* 2.653–70, Pind. *Ol.* 7; Strab. 14.2.6; Zeleia: schol. to Hom. *Il.* 4.88.

29. It may be objected that this particular colonial motif is merely a Hellenistic inven-

tion, but as I will demonstrate in Chapter 7, the story of Tlepolemus, murderer and founder of Rhodes, which first appears in the *Iliad* and which is later taken up by Pindar in *Olympian* 7, perfectly fits this model. As a general principle for scholars working on the archaic period, we must remember that the lateness of a source does not necessarily determine the antiquity (or lack thereof) of the account it records.

30. Chantraine and Masson 1954. Moulinier 1952 p. 296 had rejected this etymological connection and made a distinction between the two groups of words, but see Vernant 1988 135–37 who dismisses Moulinier in favor of the discoveries of Chantraine and Masson.

31. Vernant 1988 p. 138.

32. Douglas 1966 pp. 168–69.

33. Douglas (1966 pp. 169–70) interprets this cult as one of many "which invite their initiates to turn round and confront the categories on which their whole surrounding culture has been built up and to recognise them for the fictive, man-made, arbitrary creations that they are."

34. Euripides makes this legend the starting point for the *Alcestis* (1–8). Such a legend may suggest an underlying custom of making a murderer perform some menial service for a designated time among strangers in order to atone for his offense.

35. Paus. 2.7.7 for Apollo purified in Crete and see Frazer's (1898) note *ad loc.* The Tempe tradition seems to be aetiologically connected with the Septerion festival at Delphi, and the Cretan version may be traced back to a time when the Cretans had a high reputation as ritual cleansers. In the Homeric Hymn, Apollo's priests come from Crete, and this narrative detail may represent the Cretan introduction of cathartic rites to Greece at Delphi. See Huxley 1975 pp. 119–24. Similarly, as we have seen, Epimenides comes from Crete to purify Athens of the Cylonian plague.

36. Cf. Detienne 1986a.

37. An interesting inversion of this colonial tale appears, as Burnett (1988 p. 153) has argued, in the Lille fragment of Stesichorus where Polyneices, the source of pollution, does not stay in exile but returns to Thebes and thus brings its destruction with him.

38. We see this same principle at work in Sahlins' (1981) account of Cook's interaction with the Hawaiians. He argues that the historical event of Cook's arrival was interpreted by the Hawaiians within the ritual context of the Makahiki festival. A priest analyzing Cook's death at the hands of the Hawaiians explained that Cook had violated a Hawaiian tabu by removing wood from a temple. Sahlins shows (p. 26) that this claim is historically inaccurate, but that within the larger mythic context, Cook becomes a taboo transgressor. This reanalysis is not intended as justification of Cook's murder but rather signifies his present position as their divine guardian. In other words, Cook gains power and protective status for the Hawaiians precisely because he transgressed ritual norms.

39. Dion. Hal. exc. 19.2; see also 1.4 where he says that the Partheniae made war upon the Iapygians before founding the city of Tarentum.

40. Cf. Schmid 1947 pp. 13–16.

41. Archilochus Frs. 17, 18, 19, 88, 120 (Tarditi). Cf. Graham 1978 pp. 61–98. Thuc. 6.1–5; cf. Diod. 8.21.3, for an oracle given to Phalanthus, the founder of Tarentum, telling him to be a "plague to the Iapygians." See also the oracle delivered to Neleus, the founder of Miletus, telling him to "drive out the wicked Carians": Νηλεῦ, φράζευ, ὅπως ἀδίκων Καρῶν γένος ἀνδρῶν ἐξάλασας . . . (Parke and Wormell 1956 vol. 2 # 301, 302).

42. Dunbabin 1948 p. 43: "At least half the Greek colonies were built on sites previously occupied by native towns, and it is likely that most were. In every case of which we hear, the Greeks drove out the Sicels or Italians by force."

3

Impossible Sites

> Pherecydes gives us the story of the name of Teos. Athamas was walking along and found his daughter playing and piling up the stone that now exists in Teos. He asked her what she was doing and she said: τέως σὺ ἐζήτεις ἵνα πόλιν κτίσῃς, εὗρον. While you were looking for a city to found, I found one.
>
> (Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F102)

The potential colonist, forced to leave home, consults Delphic Apollo to learn which foreign lands he should settle. Thus, the Delphic consultation, located midway between the mother city and the new world, occupies the transitional point in the colonization narrative—the pivot from civic crisis to civic foundation—and the oracles themselves play an important role in colonial discourse.[1] In the previous chapter, we saw how crisis as the first stage of the colonial narrative both shapes and is shaped by a cultural metaphor that describes overseas settlement as a kind of civic purification. Now, as the narrative moves toward Delphi, the oracles that form part of colonial discourse themselves influence Greek memories of archaic colonization, and the act of solving a riddle functions as another metaphor for representing the colonial experience. Once we consider these foundation oracles not as simple mirrors of historical reality but as representatives of a coherent system of cultural meaning, we will see that the ambiguous and enigmatic language typically associated with the Delphic oracle describes the act of foundation as a process of interpretation. Oracles within colonization tales exploit the ambiguity of puns to create a new vision of reality, one that translates local phenomena into the Greek language just as colonization itself transforms foreign soil into a Greek city. In addition, colonial oracles often adopt the bipartite structure of riddles to represent the process of founding a colony overseas in terms of solving a puzzle; the solution, or colony, reorders an unfamiliar and confused landscape.

Ambiguous and demanding interpretation, Delphic oracles have much in common with riddles—in fact, oracles and riddles are often equated in Greek myth and literature. In Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, for example, when the chorus cannot understand the mantic frenzy of Cassandra, who is possessed by Apollo, they tell her she is speaking riddles.[2] In Plato's *Apology*, Socrates also characterizes the Delphic oracle as enigmatic. When the oracle proclaims no man is wiser than he, Socrates replies:

> τί ποτε λέγει ὁ θεός, καὶ τί ποτε αἰνίττεται;
>
> What does the god say? And why is he riddling? (*Apol.* 21b)

Socrates thus recognizes the oracular response as a riddle that must be solved. He realizes that Delphic prophecy incorporates a plurality of meanings that demand thoughtful and critical interpretation. We will see that it is precisely this polyvalent nature, an affinity for the enigma, that establishes Delphic language as an appropriate context for posing (and solving) the riddles that represent archaic colonization.

Ian Hamnett, in his work on riddles from southern and central Bantu sources, discusses the social phenomenon of riddling within the broader context of how conceptual categories are established, preserved, and mediated within a given society, and his work will provide us with a framework in which to consider Greek colonial riddles embedded in Delphic oracles.[3] Hamnett argues that an ambiguous word or action seems to belong to either one of two or more frames of reference according to the interpretation brought to it, or it can belong to all at once. The ambiguous element operates as a point of transition between these different, sometimes opposing, frames of reference and can mediate between them; as a result, ambiguity allows contrasting systems of classification to coexist within a single framework.[4] On the level of cognition, then, Hamnett suggests that "riddles may be seen as one way to reconcile two divergent sets of concepts or rules of interpretation."[5] Often, the ambiguous element of a riddle takes the form of a pun or wordplay as in the following riddle, well-known throughout the United States, Canada, and the West Indies: "What is black and white and red all over?" (a newspaper).[6] In fact, Athenaeus tells us that the oldest type of riddle and the one most true to its nature is a riddle that includes homonymy.[7]

A riddle must isolate a culture's categories of classification before it can use ambiguity to confuse them, and thus the success of a riddle depends upon its ability to manipulate a given culture's classification system. For this reason, I propose to approach the riddling oracles associated with archaic Greek colonization on these terms, as a way to appreciate the points of cultural contact and conflict that emerge and are addressed by telling colonization tales. The ambiguous, punning element of colonial riddles does indeed provide a transition between cultural classificatory systems; it describes the colonization of foreign territory in terms of finding a Greek name for a local phenomenon.[8]

Part of the fascination with puns stems from a belief in the natural power or appropriateness of names, especially proper names, and we will see that Delphic oracles explain the names of colonies by puns as well. Puns are primarily a game of etymology, and in the *Cratylus*, Plato explains the origin and meaning of a variety of words and names in terms of homonyms. The name of the god Apollo, for example, as well as his role as a purifying deity, is etymologized from the Greek verb to wash or cleanse (λούω).[9] The puzzle of a pun temporarily obscures the correct meaning of a word or name, and being able to appreciate the pun depends upon one's ability to see through it to the word's straight or true meaning.[10] As Derek Attridge has pointed out, in both etymologies and puns, two different but similar sounding signifiers are made to seem related through the writer's rhetorical skill and ingenuity.[11] This same belief in the power and significance of language led the man we credit with discovering America to change the spelling of his name. Columbus' companion, Bartolomé de Las Casas, explains:

> This illustrious man, renouncing the name established by custom, chose to be called Colón . . . because he was moved by the divine will which had elected him to achieve what his surname and given name signified. . . . This is why he was called Cristobal, which is to say *Christum Ferens*, which means the bearer of Christ. . . . His surname was Colón, which means *repopulator*, a name befitting the man whose enterprise brought about the discovery of these peoples. . . . [12]

Etymological theorizing such as this assumes connections between signifiers solely on the basis of a similarity in sound and is known as "folk" or "popular" etymology.[13] There is no real linguistic evidence, for example, that the name of the Sicilian colony Gela is linked to the Greek verb γελάω "to laugh." In fact, Thucydides tells us that the colony's name was borrowed from the indigenous name of a nearby river.[14] Another foundation tradition, however, explains that two brothers, Antiphemus and Lacius, consulted the Delphic oracle, and in response, Lacius was told to sail to the sunrise. At this, Antiphemus laughed, and he was told to found a city where the sun sets and call it Gela.[15] The colonization oracle is obviously intended to create a narrative scenario that provides a Greek explanation for the local place-name.

Pierre Guiraud discusses this type of folk etymology and dubs it "ethymologia" or "retro-motivation." He explains that "*Ethymology* is content to establish a connection between two names and then to invent, *to discover*, a situation which justifies it. Thus, one could derive the name of *Rome* from the Greek *romê* force, an etymology which justifies the power of the realm; another *ethymology* sees in *Rome* an anagram for the word *Amor*."[16] Guiraud suggests that under normal circumstances, an object precedes its name, and the choice of name reflects or is motivated by the nature of the object to be named. A man who sings, for example, is called a singer; something that opens cans is called a can opener. But we will see that in the case of some colonization oracles, this order is obviously reversed; the name comes first, and the story is invented after the fact to explain it. The great advantage of this "retro-motivation" is the ability to control the story, to create reality instead of merely recording it.[17]

Let us now look at some additional examples of "retro-motivation" operating through puns in colonization oracles. As in the case of Gela, the colonial oracle often includes a bilingual pun that serves as the transition or link between two languages, two cultures. The colonial tradition of Aegae in Macedonia recounts an oracle that describes the site of the future colony as follows:

> φράζεο, δῖε Καρανέ, νοῷ δ' ἐμὸν ἔνθεο μῦθον·
> ἐκπρολιπὼν Ἄργος τε καὶ Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα
> χώρει πρὸς πηγὰς Ἁλιάκμονος· ἔνθα δ' ἂν αἶγας
> βοσκομένας ἐσίδῃς πρῶτον, τότε τοι χρεών ἐστιν
> ζηλωτὸν ναίειν αὐτὸν γενεάν τε πρόπασαν.
>
> Consider, noble Caranus, and place my words in your mind. Leaving Argos and Greece of beautiful women, go to the springs of Haliacmon, and where first you see *goats* grazing, there you, enviable, and all your offspring should dwell. (Schol. *ad* Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2.11)[18]

The oracle both describes in specific geographical detail the place where the colonists will live and at the same time explains the name of the city, Aegae, by deriving it from the Greek word for goats (αἶγας).[19]

We find another bilingual pun in the founding tradition of Thurii. According to Diodorus, Apollo tells the colonists to found a city in that place where they will live "drinking water in measure, eating bread without measure" (μέτρῳ ὕδωρ πίνοντες, ἀμετρὶ δὲ μᾶζαν ἔδοντες). Diodorus tells us that the foundation oracle remains unclear until the colonists arrive at a spring which the natives call Medimnos; the Greek word, μέδιμνος, however, means a unit of measure for grain, and so the solution of the riddle, and consequently the foundation of the colony, depends on discovering a Greek interpretation for a local name.[20]

Through the wordplay characteristic of the Delphic oracle, colonial tales can be creative with language; they can motivate the essential connections between name and place and endow local objects with Greek values. Not only is Gela the local name of the stream beside which the colony was established, but the name also means laughter in Greek. Battus may be a local Cyrenean term for king, but according to the Delphic oracle that prompted the Theraean colonization of Cyrene, it also refers to the name of the stuttering leader of that colony.[21] By incorporating the ambiguous nature of puns through the language of the Delphic oracle, colonial tales can retain both local and Greek meanings, but they privilege the Greek value, for it is the knowledge of Greek that solves the puzzle and founds the colony.

Now, let us consider the entire riddling oracle, not just its punning component, and we will see that the bipartite structure, the question and the answer, is also a useful rhetorical framework for colonization tales. In general, the first term of a riddle sets up an unlikely scenario that ultimately, once the riddle is solved, will be reclassified or interpreted in a more likely fashion. The paradoxical first element, however, is critical to the essence of the riddle. Aristotle, for example, defines the most common Greek word for a riddle, αἴνιγμα, in terms of a metaphor:

> αἰνίγματός τε γὰρ ἰδέα αὕτη ἐστί, τὸ λέγοντα ὑπάρχοντα ἀδύνατα συνάψαι· κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων σύνθεσιν οὐχ οἷόν τε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· κατὰ δὲ τὴν μεταφορὰν ἐνδέχεται.
>
> The essence of a riddle is this: to combine things which are impossibly true. It is not possible to do this by the arrangement of words, but it requires the use of metaphor. (*Poet.* 22.5)[22]

The principles of a metaphor are the same as those that a riddle uses to express an apparent paradox—they both compare things that are impossibly true. Archer Taylor, a folklorist who works on the English tradition of riddles, agrees with Aristotle that a riddle is essentially an unlikely comparison. Taylor defines a true riddle as follows:

> These are descriptions of objects in terms intended to suggest something entirely different. The Humpty Dumpty riddle, for example, describes an egg as a man sitting on a wall. Only the queer fact, which is contradictory to the usual nature of a man, that he cannot be cured or put together again after falling gives notice that we are not listening to an incident from life; in other words, that we are being asked to guess a riddle.[23]

Thus riddles, in making unlikely but ultimately accurate comparisons, often present a paradox or mental puzzle, and the riddles we find in colonial oracles make use of this technique to describe colonization sites as impossible landscapes. Thucydides, for example, includes such a paradoxical oracle as part of the story of the founding of Acarnania:

> There is a story about Alcmaeon, son of Amphiaraus. During his wanderings after the murder of his mother [Eriphyle], the oracle of Apollo is said to have told him there would be no release from his toils until he found a place which, at the time he killed his mother, had not been seen by the sun and was not then land (ἥτις ὅτε ἔκτεινε τὴν μητέρα μήπω ὑπὸ ἡλίου ἑωρᾶτο μηδὲ γῆ ἦν); the rest of the earth was polluted for him. At first he was at a loss, as they say, until he thought of the deposit of the Achelous river that was not piled up enough at the time of his mother's death to be called land—for he had been wandering a long time. He settled the land around Oeniadae, ruled there, and named the place Acarnania after his son, Acarnan. (2.102.5–6)

One obvious effect of this type of oracle as it appears within a colonial tale is to highlight the intellectual acumen of the colonists. In order to solve the riddle of his new city—a place where land is not land—Alcmaeon is forced to make comparisons, to look at the world in a new way and to test his interpretive powers.

Sometimes the impossibility of the colonial landscape is resolved through wordplay. Plutarch provides an example within his account of the settlement of the Ozolian Locrians:

> Locrus was the son of Physcius, the son of Amphictyon. The son of Locrus and Cabye was Opus. Locrus quarelled with Opus, and taking many of the citizens with him, he went to seek an oracle concerning a colony. The god told him to found a city where he should happen to be bitten by a wooden dog (τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ φήσαντος κτίζειν πόλιν ὅπουπερ ἂν τύχῃ δηχθεὶς ὑπὸ κυνὸς ξυλίνης), and as he was crossing to the other sea, he stepped upon a dog-briar (κυνόσβατον). Greatly troubled by the wound, he spent several days there, during which he became familiar with the country and founded the cities of Physcus and Oeantheia and the other cities in which the so-called Ozolian Locrians lived. (*Mor.* 294 e–f)

The puzzle of the wooden dog is thus solved naturally by the dog-briar. The initial description of the colonial landscape confuses the categories of nature and blurs the customary distinctions between plant and animal life. The ambiguous element, then, the dog-briar, partakes of both the plant and animal spheres, and its identification thereby restores the proper categories.

One of the various traditions surrounding the foundation of Tarentum by Phalanthus and the Partheniae contains a puzzling oracle that also uses a metaphor to describe an impossible landscape. When Phalanthus asks the Pythia if they can settle Siconia, she says no. Instead she commands:

> Σατύριον φράζου σὺ Τάραντός τ' ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ
> καὶ λιμένα σκαιὸν καὶ ὅπου τράγος ἀλμυρὸν οἶδμα
> ἀμφαγαπᾷ τέγγων ἄκρον πολιοῖο γενείου·
> ἔνθα Τάραντα ποιοῦ ἐπὶ Σατυρίου βεβαῶτα.

> Look to Satyrion and the gleaming water of Taras, a harbor on the left, and the place where a goat loves salt water, wetting the tip of his grey beard. There build Tarentum, mounted upon the Satyrion. (Diod. 8.21.3)

The practically impossible, namely a goat that loves salt water, becomes possible when we recognize that, in this instance, τράγος does not mean a goat, but functions as a metaphor for the wild fig tree whose silvery branches dip into the stream.[24] The metaphor, which again confuses the customary distinctions between flora and fauna, is reinforced by the description of the tree and its branches in terms of a goat with a grey beard.

Within this context of impossible yet true landscapes, we find the majority of our enigmatic colonial oracles. In this respect, an oracle that describes the colonial site as a place where "there is land which was not land" or where "a man is bitten by a wooden dog" has much in common with the poetic device, the *adunaton*.[25] In poetry, *adunata* have a strong proverbial flavor and are generally used to convey a sense of impossibility. As E. Dutoit defines it, "the poet, in order to represent one fact or action as impossible, absurd, or unbelievable, associates it with one or more natural impossibilities."[26]

The critical difference, however, between the customary use of *adunata* in literature and their presence in colonial oracles is exactly this emphasis on the impossible. For while the oracle that tells Podalirus to found a town where "if the heavens fall down, he will not feel it" appears to signify a geographical impossibility; nevertheless, such a place does exist. Podalirus founds the city in the Carian Chersonese when he discovers a site surrounded by high hills.[27] Consequently, in colonial oracles, the use of *adunata* emphasizes the apparent, but not real, impossibility of founding a colony, and the genuine focus is on the colonists' ability to decipher the riddle. They have been able to recognize one thing when it has been described as another and thus unite what was impossible yet true. It is worth noting that whereas the majority of ambiguous oracles in Greek literature are only correctly understood in retrospect, colonial oracles as a rule are presented as successfully interpreted in time to be useful—yet another sign of Apollo's support for the colonial enterprise.

The geographical site of the colony, as we have seen, is often described in impossible terms as the first half of the riddle; the colonial oracle describes the new world as a place where the laws of the universe have been overturned. This type of oracle allows the colonial tale to emphasize the foreignness of the land prior to Greek settlement. Let us consider one more example of this type of colonial oracle, however, in order to focus on how the two-part structure of riddling oracles, the problem and the solution, provides the ideal rhetorical context for representations of colonial foundations. The Megarians who eventually found the colony of Byzantium first consult Delphi and receive the following reply from the Pythia:

> ὄλβιοι, οἳ κείνην ἱερὴν πόλιν οἰκήσουσιν
> ἀκτὴν Θρηϊκίην στενυγρὸν παρά τε στόμα Πόντου
> ἔνθα δύο σκύλακες πολιὴν λάπτουσι θάλασσαν
> ἔνθ' ἰχθὺς ἔλαφός τε νομὸν βόσκονται ἐς αὐτόν.

> Blessed are they who will dwell in that sacred city at the Thracian cape by the narrow mouth of the Pontus. Where two whelps lap at the hoary sea and where fish and deer graze at the very same pasture. (Hesych. *FGrH* 390 F1.3)[28]

At first glance it appears that the Pythia has sent the colonists to a place that cannot exist in the world as they know it, for it is contrary to the rules of nature for dogs to drink salt water or for deer and fish to share a common diet. This is a place of chaos, of mixed-up categories. But the solution to the riddle rights the confusion, reclassifies the categories of nature, and properly redistributes the customary habits of mammals and marine life. Once the colonists decipher the code and realize that the bay near their site is called Ceras (the Greek word for a horned animal such as a deer) and that the site is marked by two rivers, Cydarus and Barbyses (whose names suggest small dogs), the riddle is solved and the proper order of the natural world is restored. And, most important, the implications of the particular solution to the riddle reinforce the Greek way of looking at the world. The puzzle is solved by wordplay that attributes Greek significance to important local elements of a particular colonial tradition, here geographical details. The solution of the riddling oracle both highlights the interpretive skill of the Greek colonists and supports the values of their Hellenic culture, all the while celebrating their right to a particular plot of land.

Thus, on the level of representation, the structure of riddling oracles (especially those with bilingual wordplay) mimics the act of colonization itself, for the solution to the riddle replaces local phenomena with a Greek presence. Now turning to the issue of context, we will see that the "life and death" context associated with neck riddles is also relevant to representations of the archaic colonization movement. Taylor identifies the neck riddle as follows: by setting an insolvable puzzle, the poser, condemned to death, hopes to save his neck.[29] In fact, in many traditions, ancient and modern, riddling takes place as part of a contest. Athenaeus explains that "a riddle is a playful problem, requiring that the answer be found by intellectual questioning for the sake of a prize or a penalty." Athenaeus even provides us with the penalty for someone who at a drinking party fails to solve a riddle. He would be forced to drink, without stopping, salt water mixed in with his wine.[30]

But the stakes can get much higher. In the "Contest between Homer and Hesiod," Homer's failure to solve the following riddle results in his death. Some boys who had been fishing tell Homer that "all that we caught, we left behind, and we carry away all that we did not catch." They are referring to lice.[31] Sophocles, however, preserves perhaps the best example in Greek literature of this "neck riddle" context with the riddle of the Sphinx in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*. Here Oedipus' life, as well as that of the Sphinx, depends upon his ability to divine what walks on four legs at dawn, two at noon, and three in the evening. By discovering that it is a man, Oedipus saves himself from the fatal consequences of those who had met the Sphinx before him and failed to solve the riddle.[32]

We should consider the enigmatic oracles that occur so frequently in colonial tales within this agonistic context, for often the physical risks involved in colonization do in fact make it a life and death proposition for the colonists. As we have

seen, the situation in the mother city that prompts colonial expeditions is often itself life-threatening—plague, drought, civil war, overpopulation—and it is the act of colonization that provides the necessary population relief to enable the mother city to survive the crisis. As a result, in at least two cases, when colonial expeditions run into trouble, and the colonists try to return, they are not welcomed back by those at home. We have already remarked that when Thera founded Cyrene, for example, the colonists were not allowed back home after a failed first attempt. Plutarch records a similar story about the colonists of Methone. He says that Eretrians used to inhabit Corcyra, but they were defeated by the Corinthians. When the Eretrians tried to return home, they were not welcomed by their fellow citizens, who showered them with missiles from slings. So they settled a territory in Thrace and called the city Methone, after an ancestor of Orpheus. But their neighbors called them "men repulsed by slings" (ἀποσφενδόνητοι).[33]

The stakes were high for colonists of the archaic period. As Thucydides tells us, an overseas military enterprise like the Sicilian expedition has much in common with a colonial venture. In each case, the Greeks have only one day to establish their authority on foreign land or they will face constant danger from the native peoples.[34] The dangers of overseas travel and potential conflicts with native populations, together with drought, famine, or civil war at home, combine to present the colonist with very few viable alternatives to founding a colony. "Solve the riddle or die" is a broader motif, common in folklore and myth, and once we perceive how relevant this mythic context is to colonial riddles, we gain new insight into Greek colonial representation.

To return to the riddling oracles themselves, one conclusion to be drawn from the above examples is that Greek colonial tales place a high value on the process of interpretation, and this is expressed through the act of posing and solving riddling oracles. The Greek colonists are thus portrayed as clever, insightful, and perceptive; they know the correct names for things.[35] The oracle asks a question about one thing disguised as another, and in order to solve its riddle, the hidden connection must be uncovered. Andrew Welsh, in a book that approaches riddles as a root form of lyric poetry, discusses the acquisition of knowledge that is inherent in both the framing and solving of riddles:

> The riddle is more than simply substituting one name for another. To name is to have known, and to know is to have seen—yet the sense of paradox is present even in the initial act of seeing and is never completely resolved. It is here, it seems, that the riddle as a root form of poetic imagery becomes most interesting to us, for the process of resolving the paradoxes implicit in the imagery becomes a way of knowing. . . . In having seen, we have created a space for fuller knowing. What Aristotle said of metaphor applies as well to the riddle: it engenders thought by teaching us something (*Rhet.* iii.10.1410b10–15).[36]

The colonial act is thus one of naming. By creating and solving riddles about their new city, by recognizing the correct names for things in an alien environment, within the rhetoric of colonial discourse, the colonists are portrayed as knowledgeable about the true nature of their city and thus justified in founding it. One of the founding traditions of the Spartan colony of Tarentum, for example, describes the

successful foundation as a reward for the correct interpretation of the following puzzling Delphic oracle. Phalanthus is told that he will found a colony "when rain falls from the clear blue sky (αἴθρα)." After much frustration, the riddle is finally solved when Phalanthus lays his head in his wife's lap. She consoles her husband while picking lice from his hair, but she, too, is sad and begins to cry. Phalanthus then interprets the rain mentioned in the oracle to be the tears falling from his wife's eyes; her name is Aethra.[37]

Colonial legends thus emphasize the interpretation that ambiguity demands. Some oracles describe unlikely animals as guides to the colonial site. According to Creophylus, for example, those who founded Ephesus asked Delphic Apollo where to establish their city, and he told them to found a city where "a fish pointed and a wild boar led the way." According to the story, the mystery of the oracle is solved while the colonists are cooking lunch beside a stream, as a fish that is baking falls with some hot ashes onto a quiver and sets a bush on fire. A boar has been hiding there and becomes frightened; he runs off to a tall mountain called Tracheia and falls, struck by the colonists with a javelin. The colonists, once they realize that this sequence of events fulfills the terms of the oracle, found the city of Ephesus on the spot.[38] At first glance, the chances of fish pointing and wild boars leading the way to the site of a new colony seem improbable, but the colonists correctly interpret the fireside episode and found the city. Similarly, Athamas, exiled from Boeotia for killing his children, consults the god about where to live and is told to settle "wherever he is hosted (ξενίσθῃ) by wild animals." Athamas travels a long time until he comes upon wolves devouring a sheep. When they see him, however, they abandon their prey and flee. He settles there once he realizes that the wolves have left food for him as hosts would provide a meal for their guests.[39]

Other colonial oracles include ambiguous reponses which, tradition tells us, the colonists manipulate in order to trick the occupants out of their land. These accounts justify Greek claim to the new territory not in physical or military terms but as a result of their mental prowess. Dionysius of Halicarnassus recounts such an oracle as part of the colonization legend of the Spartan colony Callipolis:

> When Leucippus of Sparta inquired as to where it was fated for him and his followers to settle, the god commanded them to sail to Italy and to settle in whatever land they stay in for a day and a night (ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα) after landing. The expedition landed near Callipolis, a seaport of the Tarentines, and Leucippus, pleased with the nature of the place, persuaded the Tarantines to permit them to encamp there for a day and a night (ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα). When several days had passed, and the Tarentines asked them to depart, Leucippus paid no attention to them, claiming that he had received the land from them under a compact for day and night (ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα), and so long as there should be either of these, he would not give up the land. So the Tarentines, realizing that they had been tricked, permitted them to remain. (Dion. Hal. exc. xix 3.3)

The founder, Leucippus, takes advantage of the duplicity of the oracle's message to trick the Tarentines out of their land, for the absence of the definite article in the Greek expression, ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα, allows Leucippus to intrepret it to mean either "a single night and day" or just "night and day," as in forever.[40]

The language of the Delphic oracle is characteristically enigmatic, and precisely for this reason—because it demands interpretation—it is a valuable representational tool for colonial discourse. Delphic Apollo favors symbolic, ambiguous language for his messages about the future, language that requires reflection, insight, and intellectual agility in order to be interpreted correctly. Heraclitus perhaps best captures the essence of Apollo and the Delphic oracle:

> ὁ ἄναξ οὗ τὸ μαντεῖόν ἐστι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς οὔτε λέγει οὔτε κρύπτει ἀλλὰ σημαίνει.
>
> The lord whose oracle is at Delphi neither speaks nor hides but signifies. (DK 22 B53)[41]

In fact, as Charles Kahn suggests, Heraclitus' own circumlocution imitates the god's characteristic lack of specificity. He does not name Apollo directly but refers to him obliquely by rank (ἄναξ), function (σημαίνει), and place (ἐν Δελφοῖς).[42] The god does not deliver his prophecies in direct speech; but neither does he deliberately lie or conceal the truth. Instead, Delphic Apollo gives a sign. He predicts the future indirectly; his oracles demand interpretation.[43]

J.-P. Vernant has observed that the Greeks consult the Delphic oracle in order to determine the outcome of future events, their ignorance of which marks them as mortal and not divine. He emphasizes, however, the fact that the ambiguity of the responses given by the Delphic oracle replaces their lack of knowledge of the future not with specific predictions but with a different kind of uncertainty. He concludes that "the ambiguity of the oracular word reintroduces into mortal time this fundamental opacity, this necessarily hazardous character of previews and projects that it is divination's task to attenuate, if not to abolish."[44] The substitution of the ambiguity of the oracular response for the uncertainty of human existence shifts the state of indeterminacy out of the hands of the gods and into the human world of interpretation. It gives the Greeks the illusion at least of control over the major events of their lives if not control itself, and in this respect, we can appreciate how the ambiguous language and enigmatic structure of Delphic Apollo's oracles can help shape the way the Greeks conceptualize the phenomenon of colonization. Through the telling of the colonization story, the Greek colonists gain an element of control over their lives that they may have lacked as participants in the colonization effort itself. Colonial tales record ambiguous oracles from Apollo because an explicit answer is less important to the story than the process through which the colonists decipher his response. By describing the colonization site as backwards or upside-down, colonial oracles exploit the two-step structure of a riddle to represent the act of foundation as an intellectual restoration of the proper order of things. Colonial tales create the abnormal, inverted image of a colonial site before Greek occupation as a way to underscore the absence of that inversion once the Greeks take possession.

In the previous chapter, we saw how Delphic Apollo and the cultural metaphor of purification represent the birth of a Greek colony as the restoration of order within the narrative context of the colonial tale. Since solving a colonial riddle similarly restores intellectual order to a state of categorical confusion, we can now begin to appreciate how the nature and structure of colonial riddles complement the

narrative pattern of murderer-in-exile. To see more clearly how this works, let us look at several of the tales that recount the colonization of Rhegium.

Strabo tells us that Rhegium was founded by citizens of Chalcis who, according to an oracle, were dedicated, one out of ten, to Apollo because of crop failure.[45] Subsequently, they were sent from Delphi to found the colony of Rhegium. In other words, within the mother city, the harmonious relationship between mankind and his environment has been temporarily destroyed, and this imbalance prompts the tithe to Apollo and eventually the colonization expedition to Rhegium. In order for the proper natural order to be restored in Chalcis, that is, to end the famine, some members of the city must be expelled. The city must be purified, as Plato says, and Delphic Apollo oversees this purification. Consequently, the marginal or dangerous element of one city becomes the founding force of another. The colonists choose to record the natural imbalance that provoked their colonial efforts in order to highlight the order that was restored, both at home and abroad, precisely by the foundation of a new city.[46]

Strabo also preserves another structurally similar account of Rhegium's foundation, which he attributes to the Sicilian historian Antiochus. According to Antiochus, the Zancleans sent for some Chalcidians to participate in their colonization expedition, appointing Antimnestus as leader. To this expedition were added Messenian political exiles who, unwilling to be punished for an outrage done to the maidens at Limnae, had asked the god for help and were told to join the Chalcidians in settling Rhegium.[47] Whereas the first account attributed the colonial expedition to famine at home, or natural events out of balance, Antiochus' version describes political unrest as the motivating factor. But whether the disturbance is one of natural or political origins, the solution is the same. Both colonizing groups must leave home for Delphi and then found a colony. In doing so, they resolve the confusion at home and, with the help of Apollo, create a new state of order in the form of a new city.

As we now turn to the issue of poetics, we see that the enigmatic oracle preserved as part of Rhegium's colonial tradition presents linguistically this same two-step process of confusion followed by a restoration of order. Antimnestus (or Artimedes) of Chalcis consults Apollo about the destination of the Chalcidians dedicated at Delphi. Apollo tells them to settle the following spot:

> Ἀψία ἢ ποτάμων ἱερώτατος εἰς ἅλα πίπτει,
> ἔνθ' εἴσω βάλλοντι τὸν ἄρσενα θῆλυς ὀπυίει
> ἔνθα πόλιν οἴκιζε, διδοῖ δέ σοι Αὔσονα χώραν.
>
> Where the Apsia, most holy of rivers, falls into the sea, on that spot where as one approaches, the female weds the male, there found the city. He gives you the Ausonian land. (Diod. 8.23.2)

The colonial oracle describes the site of the new colony in familiar terms, referring to the sexual union between male and female, but as a reversal of those terms.[48] The colonists are told to found a city in a place where "the female weds the male." Since in proper, civilized Greek communities, the estabished convention is for the male to wed the female, this oracle, like many colonial oracles, describes the colo-

nial landscape as an impossible place. But the colonists solve the riddle and reinstate the proper male-female relationship when they come across a vine (female) entwined around a fig tree (male). We have seen that colonial tales describe a state of natural or political confusion in order to highlight the subsequent return to order as a result of Apollo's purifying intervention. In the same way, the Greeks adopt the bipartite structure of the riddle common to Delphic language first to express confusion, and then to reorder the chaos of a female-dominated sexual landscape. In each case, it is the process of discrimination, of making the proper divisions or distinctions between categories, that allows the colonists to create order out of chaos.[49]

Thus enigmatic colonial oracles mimic on a linguistic level the act of foundation itself. For in setting up a Greek colony on foreign soil, the founder imposes a Greek sense of civic order on the site; he defines the proper boundaries of the new city—boundaries between the sacred and profane, between individual members of the colony, and between the Greek inhabitants and their neighbors. Distribution and organization are among the primary duties of the leader of a colonial expedition.[50] Once the colonists arrive at their site, each member of the expedition receives a portion of land, and the leader is the one to distribute those lots. He is also in charge of building the city walls that delineate its territory and of measuring and marking out the precincts of the gods.[51] This civic ordering process, then, is represented in the colonial tale as the act of solving the colonial riddle. The first term of the riddle presents a world that is in a state of categorical confusion—wooden dogs, salt-water goats, land which is not land. Solving the riddle, like marking out territorial divisions, reestablishes the proper distribution of linguistic and natural relationships. The colonial tale that includes an enigmatic Delphic oracle helps recreate the colonial experience because it draws attention to the process of interpretation.

Loxias Apollo, the master of riddling, punning language, influences the literary representations of a colony's foundation just as he oversees the event itself and thus provides the Greeks with another colonial metaphor—that of solving a riddle. The use of bilingual puns within the riddling structure of the oracle imbues local phenomena with Greek meaning. Colonial oracles use homonyms to explain the name or origin of the colony in a way which, as long as the story is told, continues to reinforce fundamental Greek values and firmly entrench them in a foreign setting. Long after the foundation itself, Delphic oracles within colonization tales underline the centrality of the Greek language and its implicit importance in the continuing life of the colony. In addition, the process of solving the riddle emphasizes native Greek intelligence and ingenuity in a foreign context. The enigmatic language of colonization tales tends to confuse the various relationships of natural order—animals are described as plants, plants as people. Within the tale, colonists must solve the riddle, decipher the pun, and learn the correct names for new things before they can found the colony. Riddles within colonial tales defamiliarize the familiar as a way to represent Greek occupation of foreign land in terms of intellectual prowess and the divine authority of Greek Apollo. Colonization tales make the act of foundation mysterious in retrospect; they reorganize the commonplace process of founding a colony and make it temporarily alien. The next step, the correct interpretation

of the oracle, the recognition of the familiar in the mysterious, reveals an affinity with the god; it presents the Greek colonists as speakers of the Delphic language; they are masters of interpretation and, as a result, masters of a new city.

Notes

1. For collections of colonization oracles and discussions of their credibility as historical sources, see Pease 1917; Parke and Wormell 1956 vol. 1 pp. 49–81; Fontenrose 1978 pp.137–44; Malkin 1987a pp. 17–91.

2. Aesch. *Ag.* 1112–13.

3. See Hamnett 1967 pp. 379–92. He suggests (p. 379) "that riddles and riddling may illuminate some of the principles that underly classification in social action and cognition generally and can, in particular, indicate the role that ambiguities play in the classificatory process." See also T. R. Williams 1963 pp. 95–110; Georges and Dundes 1963 pp. 111–18; Barley 1974 pp. 143–75.

4. Barley 1974 p. 144. He argues that a riddle performs a metalinguistic function in the discussion of categories: "It is a complicated play on reality and appearance, linking the unlike, denying conventional similarities, and generally dissolving barriers between classes, to make us realise that the grid we impose upon the world is far from a perfect fit and not the only one available. A collection of riddles makes us aware that all the world's a riddle and all our classifications merely unconfirmed solutions."

5. Hamnett 1967 p. 383. Cf. T. R. Williams 1963 pp. 105–6. He argues that Dusun riddling serves as a conceptualizing mechanism: "The juxtaposition, in riddles, of elements of the known allows the limits of the unknown to be expanded."

6. Welsh 1978 p. 30; he cites Taylor 1951 p. 680.

7. Ath. 10.453b.

8. Hamnett 1967 p. 388 discusses the following riddle from a tribe in the Lesotho as an example of how a riddle allows new or alien ideas and institutions to be reclassified in familiar terms. First he quotes the riddle: "'A cow that comes out of the sea, people cut it up and it does not come to an end, and on Monday they cut it up again—a shop.'" Then he explains that "here the strange object, the shop, is compared to a cow; the new and foreign kind of wealth is related to the traditional kind of wealth, viz., cattle. (The reference to cutting it up again on Monday points to the fact that a shop's supplies are continually replenished.)"

9. Plato *Cra.* 405b. At *Cra.* 383 a–b, Socrates conducts a playful debate about natural versus conventional theories about names. For further examples and discussions of etymological puns in Greek literature, see McCarthy 1919 pp. 343–58; Fordyce 1932 pp. 44–46; Kranz 1933 pp. 287–89; Quincey 1963 pp. 142–48.

10. Cf. Fordyce 1932 p. 45; he points out that the adverbs ὀρθῶς and ἐτύμως often are used to signal an etymological pun. We recall the discussion in the *Cratylus* about the relationship between a name and the thing named; the dialogue is subtitled "Concerning the Correctness of Names" (περὶ ὀνομάτων ὀρθότητος). At 428e, Socrates sums up "Correctness (ὀρθότης) of a name, we say, is that quality which shows the nature of the thing named."

11. Attridge 1988 p. 108. Culler 1988 p. 2 describes etymological speculation as "the diachronic version of punning," and in this context quotes a delightful passage (p. 1, too long to include here) from Jonathan Swift's "A Modest Defence of Punning," which puts forth several punning etymologies of the word "pun" itself. Ahl 1985 also discusses the interrelation of puns and etymologies in the ancient world.

12. Las Casas *Historia* I.2, cited in Todorov 1984 pp. 25–26; in general, see pages 25–28 for a discussion of the significance of names and naming for Columbus.

13. Attridge 1988 p. 112; see also the rest of his discussion on folk etymology pp. 111–17.

14. Thuc. 6.4.3.

15. Steph. Byz. s.v. Γέλα; *Etym. Magn.* 225.1. Cf. Parke and Wormell 1956 vol. 2 p. 166. See also Ar. *Ach.* 606 for the same pun: τοὺς δ'ἐν Καμαρίνῃ κ'ἀν Γέλᾳ κἀν Καταγέλᾳ.

16. Guiraud 1972 p. 406 (my translation). He distinguishes ethymology from etymology by emphasizing that etymology is a sort of genealogy whose function is to establish the origin of a people or city by giving them an eponymous hero. Ethymology, on the other hand, is a rhetorical figure which consists of imagining a character, situation, or event that plays on their names. This, he points out, is the reverse of the normal situation. "It is as if the name creates the character and the situation, as if Mr. Fox must necessarily be crafty and Mr. Sheep pusillanimous" (p. 405, my translation).

17. Culler 1988 p. 11 in his introduction to a collection of essays on puns, also remarks on the way in which puns reveal an active manipulation of language. "Precisely because the linguistic sign is arbitrary," he argues, "discourse works incessantly, deviously to motivate."

18. See Diod. 7.16 (exc. Vat. p. 3) for another version of this oracle.

19. Although the original etymology of Aegae is unclear, it appears that the Greeks perceived it as foreign and in need of a Greek etymology. On Aegae as an indigenous place name, see Chantraine 1968–80 pp. 29–30 and 36; Steph. Byz. s.v. Αἰγαί. The use of animals to designate the site of a colony is a common theme in founding traditions. See Pease 1917 p. 8; Vian 1963 pp. 77–94.

20. Diod. 12.10.5.

21. Hdt. 4.155. Herodotus provides both translations for the name Battus.

22. Elsewhere (*Rh.* 3.11.6) Aristotle explains that metaphors can be derived from the well-constructed riddle. Creating a poetic metaphor by combining different ideas in new ways differs little from the process of inventing a riddle. For a discussion of the various Greek terms for a riddle, see Ohlert 1912 pp. 1–22; for the etymological connection between αἴνιγμα and αἶνος, see Nagy 1979 p. 237.

23. Taylor 1951 p. 1; see also pp. 3–4 where Taylor explains his method of classification: "The fundamental conception underlying the enigmatical comparison determines the place of the riddle. The main subdivisions or chapters in this collection are descriptions of (1) something living, (2) an animal, (3) several animals, (4) a person, (5) several persons, (6) a place, (7) a thing."

24. Cf. LSJ *s.v.* τράγος: V. Among Messenians = ἐρυνεός or wild fig. Parke and Wormell 1956 vol. 2 p.73 take the oracle as a pun on Epitragos, a Greek name for a wild olive tree. But now see Maurizio 1992 who shows that fig tree is not one of the meanings of τράγος, but that what we have here is a metaphor of goat for fig tree.

25. For discussions of *adunata*, see Dutoit 1936; Rowe 1965 pp. 387–98; Kenner 1970.

26. Dutoit 1936 p. ix (my translation).

27. Apollod. *Epit.* 6.18: οὐρανοῦ πεσόντος οὐδὲν πείσεται. The oracle is obviously playing upon the phonetic similarities between πεσόντος and πείσεται.

28. Cf. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Byzantium, for a slightly different version. Fontenrose 1978 discusses this oracle at p. 283.

29. Taylor 1951 p. 1.

30. Ath. 10.448 c–e; cf. 457c and 459 for the penalties for not solving the riddle. Cf. Ohlert 1912 pp. 22–60.

31. *Certamen* 326. See also Heraclitus DK 22 B56 and Kahn 1979 pp. 111–12. Cf. Strab. 14.1.27 for a similar contest between the two seers, Chalcas and Mopsus.

32. There is another riddling contest within the play, this time between Apollo and Oedi-

pus. Although Oedipus does solve the riddle of the Sphinx, he is not as successful with the ambiguous Delphic oracle about his parents.

33. Plut. *Mor.* 293 a–b.

34. Thuc. 6.23.

35. In his discussion of riddles (10.455 f), Athenaeus admits that the ability to solve some riddles requires specific knowledge. After telling a riddle to his companions, he asks, "Did you get it?" The Greek for that is μανθάνεις; more literally, "are you learning?" Cf. Todorov 1984 pp. 26–28 for the importance that Columbus attached to naming things in his role as colonizer of the New World.

36. Welsh 1978 p. 32.

37. Paus. 10.10.6–8.

38. Creophylus *FGrH* 417 F1 = Ath. 8.361 d–e.

39. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.2.

40. Although this episode shows one set of Greeks tricking other Greeks, not native peoples, the result is the same. Intellectual prowess is celebrated, not military dominance. See Scheid and Svenbro 1985 pp. 328–42 for a discussion of a similar trick to gain land. Virgil (*Aen.* 1.367–8) alludes to Dido's famous trick to acquire the territory of Byrsa, the site of Carthage. Servius, in his commentary on the lines, explains the allusion. Dido, on the authority of Venus, asks the Numidian king Hiarbas to buy as much land as an oxhide would cover. He agrees, and she proceeds to cut the oxhide into a thin strip that circumscribes an area of twenty-two stades. Like the Callipolis trick, Dido's ruse rests on the ambiguity of *tenere*, which can mean both "cover" and "circumscribe" or "encompass." The account is relevant to our discussion as well because, as Servius says, the name Byrsa is a pun on the Greek word βύρσα for oxhide. For other examples of trickery to gain land, see Plut. *Mor.* 293 f–294 c and 296 d–e.

41. For commentary and bibliography, see Kahn 1979 pp. 123–24.

42. Kahn 1979 p. 123. See also Vernant 1991 p. 315. Fontenrose 1978, however, argues that the Delphic oracle's reputation for ambiguity is a modern one. "It was not a reputation for ambiguity that Delphic Apollo had, but for truth-telling" (p. 238). Nor does he accept the Heraclitus quotation as evidence for this ambiguous reputation. He argues that the force of σημαίνει is that Apollo indicates his meaning through the Pythia instead of speaking for himself. In presenting this interpretation, however, Fontenrose ignores the rest of the passage: "he neither speaks nor hides."

43. See Vernant 1991 p. 314 for the ambiguous nature of Delphic prophecy as a literary phenomenon. For general studies on the usefulness of ambiguity, see Stanford 1939 and Empson 1961. For more specific studies on the language and style of Delphic oracles, see Parke and Wormell 1956 vol. 2 pp. xxi–xxxvi; Fontenrose 1978 pp. 58–87. Roberts 1984 discusses the ambiguity of Delphic Apollo within the specific context of the *Oresteia*. Many examples of Delphic oracles that exhibit their characteristic, ambiguous style can be found in the *Histories* of Herodotus; cf. Crahay 1956.

44. Vernant 1991 p. 315. For insight into how oracular consultation fits into the daily life of another, although very different, culture, see Evans-Pritchard 1976 pp. 120–63 on the poison oracle of the Azande of the Southern Sudan. See also Park 1963.

45. Strab. 6.1.6.

46. Cf. Vidal-Naquet 1986 p. 206. Talking about myths of origin, he says that "each city pictured for itself the transition 'in the beginning' from chaos to order and from Nature to Culture. The legendary tradition incorporates mythical elements but is felt and described as historical."

47. The rape of the Limnaean maidens functions as yet another kind of mixing of categories in need of purification.

48. Cf. Vidal-Naquet 1986 p. 214.

49. The key word here, in Greek, is διακρίνων; this is the word that Plato uses both to talk about the process of division which constitutes purification (*Soph.* 226d) and to describe the process of separating reality (*Cra.* 388b–c) which is inherent in solving riddles.

50. See Graham 1964 pp. 29–39 for the role of the oikist and Malkin 1987a pp. 135–86: "Having acquired possession of the site of the colony, the foremost duty of the oikist was to conduct the organization of its physical space."

51. For accounts of a founder's duties, see Pindar *Pyth.* 5.89–93; Hom. *Od.* 6.7–10; Archil. Fr. 145 Bergk = Ath. 4.167d.

4

The Lay of the Land

ὧν δὴ χάριν μητρὶ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς τῆς γυναικὸς οἰκείοις παρέντας χρὴ τὰς αὑτῶν οἰκήσεις, οἷον εἰς ἀποικίαν ἀφικομένους αὐτούς, ἐπισκοποῦντάς τε ἅμα καὶ ἐπισκοπουμένους οἰκεῖν, γεννῶντάς τε καὶ ἐκτρέφοντας παῖδας, καθάπερ λαμπάδα τὸν βίον παραδιδόντας ἄλλοις ἐξ ἄλλων, θεραπεύντας ἀεὶ θεοὺς κατὰ νόμους.

For these reasons, it is necessary for them [married couple] to leave their own houses to their mother and father and the bride's relations as if they were going off to found a colony, to live visiting and being visited in return, begetting and rearing children, and so handing on life, like a torch, from one generation to another, ever respecting the gods according to the laws.

(Plato *Laws* 776 ab)

In this passage from the *Laws*, Plato evokes the image of a colonial expedition to describe the changes in familial relationships that necessarily evolve as a result of marriage. The married couple, like colonists, must leave home. In spite of the physical separation, however, religious and cultural bonds remain that link the new couple with their family just as shared customs and practices keep the cultural ties strong between a new colony and its mother city—in both cases, the common bonds of custom and culture will continue to bridge the sea of differences that married couples and colonists will inevitably confront. The torch, evocative of both household and civic hearth, plays an important role in the rituals of marriage and colonization. It provides a sense of continuity that extends across time and place, and Plato highlights the torch as a symbol of cultural identity passed down from one generation to the next.

The similarities between marriage and colonization, however, transcend the issues of separation and continuity raised by Plato. Both are institutions of integration and acculturation, concerned with uniting opposites and transforming that which is wild and foreign into a fruitful and productive experience. And like all instruments of civilization, colonization and marriage also embed within their ideology the element of violence. Precisely because of this striking overlap between colonization and marriage, not only does colonization serve as a metaphor for conceptualizing marriage, as Plato suggests, but the rituals and rhetoric of the Greek marriage ceremony (including rape) shape colonial representation as well.[1]

Thus far in our discussion of the colonial narrative and of the cultural metaphors

that describe colonization, we have focussed on Delphic Apollo and on the issues inherent in leaving home. The basic narrative pattern of crisis, followed by Delphic consultation and colonial foundation, is further influenced by preexisting mythic patterns, such as the murderer-in-exile, and by the poetic conventions typically associated with the Delphic oracle. Now, as we map out the end of the colonial narrative, the city foundation itself, different issues arise, and new metaphors are called into play. On one level, accounts of marriage and rape certainly reflect issues of sexuality and gender roles, but at the same time the theme of sexual violence can be symbolic of larger cultural and political issues.[2] Indeed, within the ideology of colonization—of foreign conquest and overseas settlement—the discourse of rape and the institution of marriage provide models for representing the complicated relationships that Greeks must forge with native populations upon colonizing foreign territory.

Before exploring why marriage imagery is so important to colonial discourse, I would like to outline briefly some of the ways in which the institution of marriage itself functions in Greek thought.[3] First, on perhaps its most basic level, marriage serves an integrating function; it unites two distinctly different entities—man and woman—into a common partnership. Indeed, the *anakalupteria* marks the moment in the Greek marriage ceremony when the groom lifts the bride's veil and is said to look upon her for the first time.[4] Husband and wife are thus literally strangers to each other, but through the institution of marriage, they will become partners and create a household in common. As Plutarch observes in his *Advice to Bride and Groom*, it is a good thing for a husband to sympathize with his wife's concerns and vice versa so that they derive strength from each other like "ropes intertwined" and so that their partnership is preserved by the actions of both. Plutarch goes on to suggest that this sense of common purpose and the effacement of difference is reflected in the physical offspring that is the very goal of marriage:

> For nature mingles (μίγνυσι) us through our bodies so that taking one portion from each of us and blending it, she should give us back offspring which is common (κοινόν) to both, so that neither can divide or distinguish what is his (her) own (ἴδιον) from that of the other (ἀλλότριον). Such a partnership (κοινωνία) of property as well is especially beneficial to married couples, who should pour together all their resources into a common fund, mixing it up (ἀναμείξαι) so that neither can consider part to be his (ἴδιον) and another part the other's (ἀλλότριον), but all [is to be considered] his own and nothing the other's. (*Mor.* 140 e–f)

For Plutarch, the partnership exemplified in producing offspring should extend to all aspects of married life, including property and opinions.[5] In the face of conflict and contact between men and women (symbolic perhaps of other fundamental conflicts), it is the goal of marriage to obscure difference in the interest of a harmonious union.

In addition to creating unity out of a plurality, marriage raises the primal relations between the sexes to the level of civilized life; it is the mechanism that channels animal-like sexuality into the production of legitimate children.[6] Similarly, for the bride, marriage effects her transformation from a state of wildness associated with nature to her new role as wife in her husband's household and in the larger

civic community. This movement from nature to culture is reflected in many of the rituals that comprise the marriage ceremony itself. On their wedding day, for example, Athenian girls carry a pan normally used for roasting barley; a sieve is carried by a young child in the procession. Another custom demands that a pestle be hung outside the wedding chamber.[7] Finally, Zenobius explains that among the Athenians, it was a wedding custom for a child with both parents living (*amphithales*) to be crowned with thistles mixed with the fruit of the oak, and to carry around a winnowing basket full of bread saying: "I escaped the bad, I found the better."[8] The state of marriage, personified thus by the boy crowned with acorns and thistles, occupies a place somewhere between primitive nature and an idealized golden age. Similarly, the various culinary instruments (barley pan, sieve, pestle) involved in the wedding ceremony represent marriage as the introduction of cultivated life.[9]

Reflective of this view of marriage as a movement from nature to culture is the prominence of agricultural imagery in wedding poetry. Catullus, for example, in the paired songs of young girls and boys in a wedding hymn, uses agricultural imagery to represent these conflicting aspects of marriage.[10] First from the feminine perspective, a girl is like a flower thriving in a walled garden; as long as she is untouched by the plough, many desire her. But as soon as she is picked, she is no longer attractive to anyone. In the responding strophe, however, the boys challenge this view with a song in praise of the productive benefits of agriculture. Untended, the unmarried vine wastes its fruit on the ground, but if it should be "married" to an elm tree, it will flourish productively. Catullus makes the connection quite clear: untouched (*intacta*) is the equivalent of uncultivated (*inculta*), and it is only as a cultivated vine, married to an elm, that a young girl will be either desirable or useful.

Another metaphor that reflects the similarity between marriage and agriculture equates women to be married with the land itself. The female body is often characterized in Greek literature as a fertile field, ready to be ploughed and sown with seeds.[11] In *Pythian* 4, for example, Pindar refers to Greek contact with the Lemnian women in terms of indiscriminate sowing:

> καὶ ἐν ἀλλοδαπαῖς
> σπέρμ' ἀρούραις τουτάκις ὑμετέρας ἀ-
> κτῖνος ὅλβου δέξατο μοιρίδιον
> ἆμαρ ἢ νύκτες· τόθι γὰρ γένος Εὐφά-
> μου φυτευθὲν λοιπὸν αἰεί
> τέλλετο·
>
> And in foreign fields, the fateful day or nights received at that time the seed of your splendid prosperity. For there the race of Euphemus was planted [to endure] forever. (*Pyth.* 4.254–57)[12]

"The fact is," as Vernant bluntly puts it, "for the Greeks marriage is a form of ploughing, with the woman as the furrow and the husband as the labourer."[13]

The ultimate purpose of marriage is to produce legitimate children, and this goal too is conceived in agricultural terms. When the father of the bride hands his daughter over to her future husband, he utters the following formula: "I give her to

you for the cultivation (ploughing) of legitimate children" (ταύτην γνησίων παίδων ἐπ' ἀρότωι σοι δίδωμι).[14] The mechanism for transforming a virgin girl into a fruitful mother is marriage, and it follows then that images from the realm of agriculture—the means for making unworked land productive—play an important role in marriage ideology. This impulse to feminize the land reflects a belief in the similarities between a woman's power to reproduce and the annual agricultural cycles of the earth. As the myth of Demeter and Persephone and the ritual of the Thesmophoria also suggest, female reproduction is coincident with the fruit that mother earth produces each spring.[15] Although marriage may be, as Plutarch suggests, a unified partnership, with each member contributing to the common good, it is not an equal partnership, and part of what the rhetoric of acculturation does is to establish the terms of the relationship between husband and wife. As the mother of her husband's children, a woman is the equivalent of cultivated land, owned by her husband; she is thus incorporated into her husband's house, his soil, his hearth.[16] The husband is the one with the plough; he brings order and culture to the feminine land; he has the power and control. In Plutarch's view, the ideal marriage is one where husband and wife are in agreement, but one in which the husband's leadership (ἡγεμονία) and preferences are evident.[17]

Indeed, marriage takes on a darker, more threatening countenance when seen from a woman's perspective. No longer a celebration of the progression from primitive wildness to a state of greater civilization, marriage becomes an expression of sexual violence. In particular, myths of rape (both within and without marriage) reflect the destructive nature of erotic power. The rape of Persephone, for example, by Hades, god of the underworld, sets up a cultural model of marriage as synonymous with sexuality and violence, a kind of death.[18] Marriage and abduction are closely paralleled in the iconographic tradition of vase painting as well. The technique of representing the bride being led away, her husband's hand upon her wrist, characterizes marriage as an abduction.[19] It reflects the bride's passive role; she has no power to control her destiny as she is transferred from the possession of one male (her father) to that of another (her husband).[20]

Marriage, a rite of passage, entails a change of status, a change of residence, a formal and final separation from all that is familiar to the bride—her family, her home. Sappho powerfully captures the sense of apprehension and irrevocable change that marriage brings to a woman's life:

> παρθενία, παρθενία, ποῖ με λίποισ' ἀποίχῃ;
> †ούκέτι ἥξω πρὸς σέ, ούκέτι ἥξω†
>
> Virginity, virginity, where have you gone, leaving me behind?
> Never again shall I come to you, never again shall I come. (Fr. 114 L-P)[21]

A girl's virginity is a highly prized commodity, one not easily nor willingly relinquished, and this fact is also reflected in aspects of the marriage ceremony. Pollux, for example, tells us about the doorkeeper posted outside the bridal chamber who "roars at the women trying to rescue the bride" (3.42) and suggests that the bride is being held against her will.[22]

In addition to separating the bride from her family and home, marriage entails the very real physical violence of defloration. Again, in epithalamial poetry, agri-

cultural imagery is used to represent this destructive act as the picking of flowers or fruit. In the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, Persephone is abducted by Hades while she is playing with friends, picking flowers in a meadow. She herself is compared to a flower as she is plucked from her companions by the god of the underworld.[23] Sappho likens young women leaving home to be married with fruit being picked from a tree:

> οἷον τὸ γλυκύμαλον ἐρεύθεται ἄκρωι ἐπ' ὔσδωι,
> ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀκροτάτωι, λελάθοντο δὲ μαλοδρόπηες·
> οὐ μὰν ἐκλελάθοντ', ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐδύναντ' ἐπίκεσθαι.
>
> Like the sweet-apple that reddens on the bough top, on the top of the topmost bough, the apple pickers forgot it; no they did not quite forget, but were not able to reach it. (Fr. 105a L-P)

The passage underscores both the traditional reluctance of the bride and her consummate desirability. Another fragment from the same poem graphically describes the destructive violence that marks a girl's transition from child to bride as purple flowers crushed upon the ground:

> οἵαν τὰν ὑάκινθον ἐν ὤρεσι ποίμενες ἄνδρες
> πόσσι καταστείβοισι χάμαι δέ τε πόρφυρον ἄνθος . . .
>
> Like the hyacinth that the shepherd men tread upon with their feet in the hills, and on the ground the purple flower . . . (Fr. 105c L-P)[24]

Although marriage and the production of children may define a woman's adult existence, her transition to that status is marked with great reluctance and ambivalence. Thus in Greek myth and art, marriage is represented both as a manifestation of culture and as an expression of violent nature.[25]

Thus the Greek concept of marriage is an ambiguous amalgamation predicated upon the realization that this particular union of opposites (male and female) is both a civilized and a violent act. The integrative force of desire, or eros, is also one of power, and for this reason will never be confined to the bedroom but will inform other projects of conquest, domination, and acquisition as well. This nexus of integration, acculturation, and violence makes marriage an apt metaphor for the colonial experience. Indeed, within colonial discourse, the rituals of marriage and the rhetoric of the rape myth help shape the memory of contact between the Greek colonists and the native inhabitants in such a way as to represent the inevitable violence of overseas settlement as a harmonious and productive union of opposites.

Another factor that motivates the analogy within colonial discourse between marriage and colonization—especially insofar as it addresses the arrival and city foundation itself—is a related narrative pattern, that of noncolonial city foundations. In many contexts, poetic and prose alike, noncolonial city foundations are represented as the product of divine rape—an Olympian god rapes a local nymph, and her name (or that of their offspring) is given to the new city or island. Since this particular narrative pattern (like that of the murderer in exile) proves to have a profound effect on colonial representation, it will be helpful at this point to consider a few examples.

Ion of Chios says in his history of Chios that Poseidon came to the island when it was uninhabited and had intercourse there with a nymph. When she gave birth, it was snowing (χίονα), and so Poseidon called his son Chios, and this became the name of the island as well.[26] Poseidon was also responsible for the foundation of Ascra, as Hegesinus suggests in his poem the *Atthis*. Poseidon lay with Ascra, and Oeoclus, the child of their union, founded the city named after the nymph:

> Ἄσκρῃ δ' αὖ παρέλεκτο Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων
> ἣ δή οἱ τέκε παῖδα περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν
> Οἴοκλον. ὃς πρῶτος μετ' Ἀλωέος ἔκτισε παίδων
> Ἄσκρην, ἥ θ' Ἑλικῶνος ἔχει πόδα πιδακόεντα.
>
> And again with Ascra lay Poseidon Earthshaker, and she bore him a son when the year revolved, Oeoclus. He first, with the children of Aloeus, founded Ascra, which lies at the foot of Mt. Helicon, rich in springs. (Paus. 9.29.1)

In *Isthmian* 8, Pindar tells us that Zeus lay with the eponymous nymphs of Thebes and Aegina, daughters of the river god Asopus:

> χρὴ δ' ἐν ἑπταπύλοισι Θήβαις τραφέντα
> Αἰγίνᾳ Χαρίτων ἄωτον προνέμειν,
> πατρὸς οὕνεκα δίδυ-
> μαι γένοντο θύγατρες Ἀσωπίδων ⟨θ'⟩
> ὁπλόταται, Ζηνί τε ἄδον βασιλέϊ.
> ὃ τὰν μὲν παρὰ καλλιρόῳ
> Δίρκᾳ φιλαρμάτου πόλι-
> ος ὤκισσεν ἀγεμόνα·
> σὲ δ' ἐς νᾶσον Οἰνοπίαν
> ἐνεγκὼν κοιμᾶτο, δῖον ἔνθα τέκες
> Αἰακὸν βαρυσφαράγῳ πατρὶ κεδνότατον
> ἐπιχθονίων·
>
> And a man raised in seven-gated Thebes must make first offering of the Graces' finest song to Aegina, for they [Theba and Aegina] were born twin daughters of one father, the youngest of the Aesopids, and they were pleasing to Zeus, the king, who settled one beside the beautiful flowing spring of Dirce as founder of a city which loves chariots, and you, he brought to the island of Oenopia and slept with you where you gave birth to glorious Aeacus, most dear of mortals to his deep-thundering father. (16–23)[27]

This narrative pattern depends upon the tendency to associate the female with elements of nature, particularly with the land itself, and to ally the male with sexuality and culture. The political and cosmic power of Olympian deities such as Zeus and Poseidon, wielding thunderbolts and tridents, is reinforced and redescribed phallically in terms of sexual aggression. The motif of rape thus incorporates an important set of oppositions into its representation of a city foundation: culture versus nature, male versus female, Olympian god versus local nymph. The resolution of

the myth describes founding a city as the conquest of culture, male, and Olympian values over the symbol for nature, female, and locality.

Colonial tales, as we are beginning to see, differ significantly from these noncolonial accounts of city foundations; most important, they must motivate and describe the necessary movement from one city to another, and they also reflect the influential role that the Delphic oracle plays in the archaic colonial movement. Yet in spite of these differences, once the colonial narrative reaches the new world and the city foundation itself, the issues involved in noncolonial foundations become relevant to overseas colonization. For this reason, erotic conquest as the emplotment of the city foundation narrative endures in colonial discourse. Issues of power, acculturation, and the terms of Greco-native interaction are addressed through the use of marriage as a metaphor for colonial foundations.

Contact (and conflict) with indigenous populations was very much a part of the Greek colonial experience. The nature of this interaction seems to have taken two forms: first, the Greeks expelled many of those occupying the land they wished to settle, and second, they solidified their foundations by marrying local women. Although Greek sources are notoriously reticent about intermarriage between the Greek colonists and the native women, there seems to be little doubt that it did take place.[28] In the absence of direct Greek testimony, it has been suggested that we read the tale of the rape of the Sabine women, famous from Livy's account of early Roman history, as evidence that the Greek colonists also married local women to ensure the future survival of their new cities.[29] Indeed, I think we can push this model beyond the mere fact of Greco-native intermarriage. It is abundantly clear that within the larger scope of Roman cultural memory and self-representation, the rape of the Sabine women does much more than record how the young Roman state managed to ensure its future population. Within this tale, the political conquest of the Sabine people is told as the abduction and subsequent marriage of their daughters. So too, in Greek colonial discourse, the motif of rape (and marriage) extends beyond the issue of future populations to determine the political relationship that will evolve between Greeks and indigenous peoples.

Let us look closely at Livy's account in the hope that it can inform our reading of the less explicit Greek material. Livy explains that while Rome was strong enough to hold its own in combat with the other nearby states, a lack of women threatened the city's future. Romulus asked their neighbors for the rights of intermarriage, explaining that they would be lucky to mix with Roman stock, but none of their neighbors agreed; they were afraid that Rome would gain too much power. And so, Livy says, the matter seemed certain to end in violence: *haud dubie ad vim spectare res coepit* (1.9.6). Romulus then contrived a plan to take place during the Consualia games, which the Sabines would attend with their children and wives. At a designated signal, each Roman youth grabbed a Sabine woman: *signoque dato iuventus Romana ad rapiendas virgines discurrit* (1.9.10). The Sabines were furious, but Romulus explained to them that their daughters were to be married and thus would become partners in the possessions—citizenship and children—of the Romans, and the Sabine women were soon reconciled to their new status as Roman wives.

Livy's account of the rape of the Sabine women, however, does not end with the

rape itself and the solution to the population problem. The story concludes with the subsequent attack by the Sabines upon Rome in which the Sabine wives, with loosened hair and torn garments, rushed out into the middle of the fray—between fathers and husbands—to call for peace on the strength of the marriage tie lest there be impious bloodshed as fathers killed children and vice versa. Livy explains that in response to this demonstration, the leaders called a truce and thus made one city out of two: *sed civitatem unam ex duabus faciunt* (1.13.4). And so it is clear that the fact of Romans marrying Sabines is only the first chapter of this programmatic tale; it sets the stage for what is truly significant—the establishment of political ties between Romans and Sabines. Rape, an act of violence, contains the seeds of its own reconciliation. The transfer of women from fathers to husbands, from Sabines to Romans, establishes a familial connection that erases cultural difference and ultimately determines future political relationships.

Returning to the Greek colonial traditions, we see similar strategies at work, and now we can explore how the rhetoric of marriage articulates the representation of archaic colonization. First, the view of marriage as a harmonious union of opposites (male and female) becomes symbolic of another kind of union as well—that of Greeks and indigenous populations. Just as the rape of the Sabine women ends with the creation of one city where once there were two, part of the motivation to describe Greek colonization as a marriage reflects a desire to obscure the differences between the Greeks and those whose land they have taken. In marriage, as Plutarch says, husband and wife physically mingle to produce a common child, and following this model, they combine all other assets so that there will be no distinctions between what belongs to one and to the other. In colonization as well, the use of marriage imagery leads us to imagine the new civic creation as a joint project of Greeks and native peoples; a harmonious union of opposites, one (Greek) people where there once were two. The very success of this strategy of unification is perhaps at the root of our frustration in attempts to determine the details of Greek interaction with indigenous peoples.

Marriage as a model of integration is encoded within an oracle from a Syracusan colonization tale that describes the city foundation as the mingling of Greek and local waters. Pausanias tells us that Archias, a Corinthian, was dispatched by the Delphic god to found the colony of Syracuse in Sicily. The following oracle, included within the tale, describes the geographical site of the new colony in detail:

> 'Ορτυγίη τις κεῖται ἐν ἠεροεδέι πόντῳ
> Θρινακίης καθύπερθεν, ἵν' 'Αλφειοῦ στόμα βλύζει
> μισγόμενον πηγαῖσιν εὐρρείτης 'Αρεθούσης.
>
> A certain Ortygia lies in the misty sea, above Thrinacia, where the mouth of the Alpheus gushes forth, having been mingled with the streams of fair-flowing Arethusa. (Paus. 5.7.3)

Embedded within this geographical description, the oracle contains its own plot, one that tells the story of a colonial foundation as a marriage. Ortygia, the site of the colony, is located as the union of the Greek river Alpheus and the local spring called Arethusa; their waters mingle, and the oracle deliberately evokes the legend

that explains why the Alpheus river, which originates in Greek Arcadia, passes through the sea and mixes its waters with the Syracusan spring. Pausanias tells us that a hunter named Alpheus fell in love with Arethusa, a huntress. Arethusa, however, was unwilling to marry and crossed to an island opposite Syracuse called Ortygia, and there turned from a woman into a spring. Alpheus, too, was changed by his love into a river.[30] Thus marriage and colonial themes merge: the Greek river's transoceanic travel from the Peloponnesus to Sicily prefigures the colonists' own westward movement from Corinth; erotic conquest symbolizes a new political foundation, and the intermingling (μισγόμενον) of the two streams becomes an emblem for Greek and native interaction. This use of marriage imagery to represent the act of city foundation itself as a union of opposites is especially interesting in light of the two previous colonial metaphors—purification and riddling—which highlight the need for discrimination and distinction. Leaving home is an act of separation; now, once the colonists have arrived in the new world, creating a new city is a different kind of process—an act of reintegration and synthesis.

In addition to describing colonization as a peaceful and productive union of Greek colonists and native populations, the civilizing ideology of marriage negotiates the terms (within the colonial tale) for this new relationship. The tendency to equate women with the land together with the role that agriculture plays in both marriage and colonization, makes this metaphorical system work—control of one logically entails mastery over the other. It is common in Greek art and literature to represent a geographical location as feminine. Pindar, for example, is especially fond of identifying cities and islands with their eponymous nymphs; Cyrene, Thebes, Aegina, and Rhodes are all both land and female.[31] Personified as a nymph, the land itself becomes virginal—fresh, green, ready to be occupied for the first time, and it is easy to see how this rhetoric applies to a colonial enterprise. The ideal colonial landscape, as we have seen in the Homeric description of the Cyclopes' island, is one which is both free of previous occupants and full of produce. In this virgin state, the colonial landscape has great potential but no actual experience of settlement; the land is fertile—not overworked. Descriptions of the American landscape in colonial times make this same analogy. In 1616, John Smith described the New England sea coast as feminine and untouched: "her treasure having yet never been opened, nor her originalls wasted, consumed, nor abused."[32]

The eponymous nymph symbolizes both the physical land and its occupants; her sexual conquest thus represents both the agricultural domestication of her land *and* the political domination of her people. In her discussion of the language and imagery used to describe American colonial landscapes, Annette Kolodny remarks that the tendency to describe the Indian women as beautiful, gracious, cheerful, and friendly "initiated a habit of mind that came to see the Indian woman as a kind of emblem for a land that was similarly entertaining the Europeans 'with all love and kindness . . . and as much bounty.'"[33] Kolodny also observes that John Rolfe's marriage to Pocahantas in April of 1614 served in some symbolic sense as "a kind of objective correlative for the possibility of the Europeans' actually possessing the charms inherent in the virgin continent."[34] Similarly, within the rhetoric of Greek colonial discourse, marriage with a local woman or nymph signals control of the land and all its occupants.

Such is the case in *Olympian* 7, the poem in which Pindar describes the foundation of Rhodes as the picking of a rose. The ode tells the story of the history of the island of Rhodes in three parts, presented in reverse order. The third panel of the triptych is thus the foundation of the island itself, told as the marriage of the god Helius and a young nymph, daughter of Aphrodite, Rhodes. Throughout the narrative, Pindar describes Rhodes as both an island and a young girl; he introduces her as the ocean-y one, daughter of Aphrodite and bride of Helius (τὰν ποντίαν/ ὑμνέων, παῖδ' Ἀφροδίτας Ἀελίοιό τε νύμφαν, Ῥόδον, 13–14). Helius was absent when the gods were dividing up the world, and the island that would become his prize was not yet visible:

οὔπω, ὅτε χθό-
να δατέοντο Ζεύς τε καὶ ἀθάνατοι,
φανερὰν ἐν πελάγει Ῥόδον ἔμμεν ποντίῳ,
ἁλμυροῖς δ' ἐν βένθεσιν νᾶσον κεκρύφθαι.

When Zeus and the immortals divided up the earth, Rhodes was not yet visible in the marine expanse, but was hidden, an island, in the salty depths. (55–57)

Once Helius does arrive on the scene (or when the sun finally comes out) he spies the fertile land growing and asks that it be his allotment:

ἐπεὶ πολιᾶς
εἶπέ τιν' αὐτὸς ὁρᾶν ἔν-
δον θαλάσσας αὐξομέναν πεδόθεν
πολύβοσκον γαῖαν ἀνθρώποισι καὶ εὔφρονα μήλοις.

Since he [Helius] told him [Zeus] that he had seen in the hoary sea earth growing from the ground, rich in food for men and kindly to their flocks. (62–64)

Thus, Rhodes is truly virgin territory; this land has never before been seen, let alone touched. Again, the potential fertility of the land is emphasized; the earth has plenty to offer both men and flocks. Once Rhodes does see the light of day, the island blooms like a plant:

βλάστε μὲν ἐξ ἁλὸς ὑγρᾶς
νᾶσος. . . .

There burst forth from the moist sea an island . . . (69–70)

In other words, Pindar uses the language of the natural world, in particular, agricultural imagery, to describe the birth of the island of Rhodes.[35] A period of fertilizing snow and rain is followed by the renewed warmth of the sun; the result is the growth and blossoming of a flower, a rose. At this point in the poem, Pindar capitalizes on the well-known play on the name of the island Rhodes and the name of a flower, a rose.[36] As G. Norwood puts it, "everyone speaks of the Island as 'Rhodes.' But to Pindar and all who heard his ode it meant The Rose."[37] The pun operates visually as well on a Rhodian coin showing a rose on one side and Helius on the other (Figure 4.1). In *Olympian* 7, once

Figure 4.1. Top: Rose. Gold Stater from Rhodes (Reverse), ca. 400–333 B.C.E. *Bottom:* Helius (Obverse). London, British Museum. *(Photo courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.)*

the rose-girl blossoms, the natural vegetation theme of Helius/sun and Rhodes/ rose merges into the realm of male and female, into marriage and the foundation of cities:[38]

> ἔνθα Ῥόδῳ ποτὲ μιχθεὶς τέκεν
> ἑπτὰ σοφώτατα νοήματ' ἐπὶ προτέρων
> ἀνδρῶν παραδεξαμένους
> παῖδας, ὧν εἷς μὲν Κάμιρον
> πρεσβύτατόν τε Ἰάλυ-
> σον ἔτεκεν Λίνδον τ'·
>
> There, having mingled with Rhodes at that time, he begat seven sons who inherited the wisest thoughts of men of earlier times. One of whom sired Camirus, Ialysus, the eldest, and Lindus. (71–74)

Helius, the Olympian god of the sun, marries the young nymph Rhodes, and their marriage is symbolic of the birth of Rhodes, the island. As in the Sappho fragment that describes a young girl's loss of virginity as an apple being picked, here Pindar leads us to imagine the sexual consummation of Helius and Rhodes as Helius picking a flower, a rose. The marital union of Helius and Rhodes produces seven sons, and one of these seven bore the three who give their names to the cities of Rhodes—Camirus, Ialysus, and Lindus—and the poet thus reminds us that this marriage is also a foundation. Rhodes is both a girl and a rose, and her marriage is represented as the picking of a flower, but "the rose" is also an island, and so the picking of the flower symbolizes the island's foundation.

A passage from an American colonial tradition, uncanny in its similarity to the Greek material, also equates colonial territory with a young girl. In 1666, in *A Character of the Province of Mary-Land*, George Alsop portrays the landscape of Maryland as "Mary-Land drest in her green and fragrant Mantle of the Spring":

> Pleasant, in respect of the multitude of Navigable Rivers and Creeks that conveniently and most profitably lodge within the armes of her green, spreading, and delightful Woods; whose natural womb (by her plenty) maintains and preserves the several diversities of Animals that rangingly inhabit her Woods; as she doth otherwise generously fructifie this piece of Earth with almost all sorts of Vegetables, as well Flowers with their varieties of colours and smells, as Herbes and Roots with their several effects and operative virtues, that offer their benefits daily to supply the want of the Inhabitant whene're their necessities shall *Sub-poena* them to wait on their commands.[39]

The foundation and settlement of new land is thus represented both here and in *Olympian* 7 in natural, reproductive terms. Alsop and Pindar similarly personify the land to be settled as a young, virgin girl (she gives her name to the land) ready and willing to receive the foreign seed, which in turn will bring civilization and prosperity to the new world. The usual agricultural metaphor for marriage is reversed. Instead of marriage characterized as the way to tame and civilize a woman for the production of children, as one would plough a field in order to reap the harvest, the settlement and domestication of foreign territory becomes as natural and civilized a process as marriage and procreation. The ploughing of the earth and sowing of seed inherent in settling and marking out territory is expressed as intercourse with a beautiful young native girl.

Agriculture is the mediating term that fosters this connection between marriage and colonization; thus in colonial discourse, male-female relationships are often mapped onto the land. The colonial tale of Rhegium, for example, uses agricultural imagery to designate the colonial site in terms of sexual intercourse. Crisis in the form of crop failure at home forced the Chalcidians to dedicate a tithe of their population to Delphi in hopes of relief from famine. Those dedicated to Delphi were subsequently sent out as a colonial expedition with the following oracle:

> Ἀψία ἥ ποτάμων ἱερώτατος εἰς ἅλα πίπτει,
> ἔνθ' εἴσω βάλλοντι τὸν ἄρσενα θῆλυς ὀπυίει
> ἔνθα πόλιν οἴκιζε, διδοῖ δέ σοι Αὔσονα χώραν.
>
> Where the Apsia, most holy of rivers, falls into the sea, on that spot where as one approaches, the female weds the male, there found the city. He gives you the Ausonian land. (Diod. 8.23.2)

At the end of the previous chapter, we discussed this tale as paradigmatic of the colonial narrative structure; the oracle designates the colonial site as a state of crisis. It represents the colonial landscape as an inverted world, one in which, contrary to nature, women are the active parties in sexual intercourse. Now, I would like to note that the topography of the site to be settled is eroticized—the solution to the puzzling oracle is recognized once the colonists find a spot where a vine is entwined around a fig tree. Since the Greek word for vine (ἡ ἄμπελος) is feminine and the word for fig tree (ὁ ἐρινεός) is masculine, a vine entwined around the tree represents the female taking the active role in intercourse.[40] Through this metaphorical use of agricultural imagery, common within epithalamial traditions, sexual intercourse marks the spot, and the marriage theme structures a colonial legend.

An oracle from a Tarentine colonial tale also merges agricultural and sexual imagery to describe the colonial site. The Spartan colony of Tarentum was founded by Phalanthus and a group of political exiles called the Partheniae. Expelled from Sparta, they consulted the Delphic oracle and received the following response to their request to settle Siconia:

> Σατύριον φράζου σὺ Τάραντός τ' ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ
> καὶ λιμένα σκαιὸν καὶ ὅπου τράγος ἁλμυρὸν οἶδμα
> ἀμφαγαπᾷ τέγγων ἄκρον πολιοῖο γενείου·
> ἔνθα Τάραντα ποιοῦ ἐπὶ Σατυρίου βεβαῶτα.
>
> Look to Satyrion and the gleaming water of Taras, a harbor on the left, and the place where a goat loves salt water, wetting the tip of his grey beard. There build Tarentum, mounted upon the Satyrion. (Diod. 8.21.3)

As we have seen, the solution to the oracle depends upon reading the goat drinking salt water as a metaphor for a fig tree dipping its branches into the sea. The metaphor of goat for fig tree, in turn, hinges upon the famed sexual prowess of he-goats and the similarly penetrative pollination practice of the fig tree.[41] Both wild goats and wild fig trees are distinguished from their feminine counterparts and associated with male sexuality. The beard, smell, and mating behavior of the male goat make it an apt metaphor (in English as well) for male lewdness and lechery. These

associations are made manifest in the mythical figure of the satyr—part man, part goat, and famed for its wild and licentious sexual behavior.[42] Similarly, the wild/male fig tree (ἐρινέος) is opposed to the domestic/female fig (συκῆ) along gender lines that reflect its method of reproduction.[43] The wild fig is perceived as the inseminator, and the female fig is believed to be the recipient of the seed or pollen. Thus, in the Tarentum oracle, the metaphor of a wild goat for a wild fig tree also locates the site of the new colony in an erotically charged landscape. In addition to the randy goat, the site is identified with respect to a harbor on the left, an image often suggestive of female sexuality.[44] The river's name, Satyrion, certainly reinforces the goat/fig metaphor with all its sexual overtones, and finally, the climax of the oracle represents the city's foundation with language often used to describe a male animal mounting a female (βεβαῶτα).[45] It is appropriate that this eroticized oracle be delivered to the Partheniae, themselves the product not of a legitimate marriage but of a promiscuous free-for-all as a result of which—since they knew their mothers (πάρθενοι) but not their fathers—they were called the Partheniae.[46]

Plugging the marriage/agriculture metaphor into colonial discourse paints overseas settlement in the rosy hues associated with the gift of fruitful civilization to a previously wild and savage land. Suppressing any hints of previous occupants or the violence of their removal, this strategy evokes images of colonization as healthy vines, fruit-laden trees, and fertile fields aplenty. Indeed, Croton's colonial tradition exploits the marriage analogy to equate the production of a new colony with the reproductive powers of its founder. According to Diodorus, Myscellus of Rhype asks the Delphic oracle whether he will have children. In response he is told that Apollo will give him children, but first he must found the colony of Croton:

> Μύσκελλε βραχύνωτε, φιλεῖ σ' ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων,
> καὶ γενεὰν δώσει· τόδε δὲ πρότερόν σε κελεύει,
> οἰκῆσαί σε Κρότωνα μέγαν καλαῖς ἐν ἀρούραις.
>
> Myscellus, short-in-the-back, Apollo the far-darter loves you and will give you offspring. But first he commands this for you, that you make your home in mighty Croton among the fair ploughland. (Diod. 8.17.1)

We recognize the imagery. The oracle conflates the two ways that land can be productive—amid the fine fields (καλαῖς ἐν ἀρούραις) of Croton, Myscellus, both father and founder, will sow the seeds of children and of a new city.[47] A successful marriage is measured in terms of legitimate children, and the success of a colonial settlement similarly depends upon the colonists' ability to master the land, to transform the virgin territory into a productive landscape—a city. And so the metaphor of marriage together with the feminization of the land becomes a useful way to describe colonization.[48]

J.-P. Vernant has suggested that agriculture, and marriage by analogy, occupies a middle ground between a wild, primitive state and the other extreme—a golden age in which no cultivation is necessary since all is produced spontaneously:

> During the Golden Age, before the institution of sacrifice, fruits and corn germinated spontaneously in the soil. It was as unnecessary to plough the land and plant it with seed in order to reap the harvest as it was to labour with women and fill their

> wombs with seed in order to obtain children from them. The sacrificial meal, instituted by Prometheus, has two effects. It introduces a diet in which the consumption of cooked meat from domesticated animals goes along with agricultural labour and the harvesting of cereals. Its other immediate consequence is, as Hesiod tells us, the appearance of the first woman and the establishment of marriage.[49]

Thus the institutions of marriage and agriculture map out "the right distance" between an idealized golden-age landscape and a world of savage primitivism, and I would argue that colonization occupies this same middle ground.[50] The colonial landscape, described in terms of agriculture and marriage, is located somewhere between the idealized Homeric description of an unoccupied (virgin) land that produces its crops and flocks freely and the unproductive, savage world that Archilochus describes as the bony back of an ass.[51]

Finally, within the framework of characterizing overseas settlement as an act of civilization, the myth of rape—either alone or embedded within a marriage context—acknowledges the violence of colonization, the force built into this view of civilization. It disguises the imperial flavor of colonization, the military and political domination, and figures it instead as erotic conquest. We find this strategy at work in the foundation tradition of Aetna. In 476 B.C.E., Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse, founded the city of Aetna, and Aeschylus composed a tragedy in celebration of the colonial foundation. Macrobius recounts for us the legend of the city's colonization that formed the subject of Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae*:

> In Sicily there is a river Symaethus next to which the nymph Thalia was made pregnant by Zeus. Afraid of Hera, she asked that the earth swallow her up, and it did. But when it came time for those whom she had carried in her womb to be born, the earth opened up and the two children born from the womb of Thalia came forth. They were called Palici from "ἀπὸ τοῦ πάλιν ἱκέσθαι" since after first being plunged into the earth, they returned from it again.[52]

Servius, in his commentary on the same Virgilian passage, tells a similar story of the birth and subsequent naming of the twin gods, but in his account, the name of the nymph is Aetna.[53]

An aggressive political project designed to add to Hieron's own power and status is thus represented, within the foundation legend, as an act of sexual conquest. Diodorus tells us that Hieron removed the original Greek inhabitants of Naxos and Catana and established there settlers of his own choosing in their place; he then changed the name of the city to Aetna.[54] Once the colony was settled, Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae* told the story of the colonial foundation as the rape of a local nymph (Aetna or Thalia) by Zeus, king of the Olympian gods. Hieron's foundation of Aetna, his political conquest and his status as founder of this territory, is thus cast in the same mold as Zeus' sexual domination of a local girl, Aetna. The cosmic power of Zeus becomes symbolic of Hieron's political authority. A parallel from the sixteenth century can help illuminate this representational strategy, as Margaret Carroll shows in her description of a room in Federigo Gonzaga's Palazzo del Te in Mantua from around 1530:

> To take one room, the Sala del'Aquile, as an example, we find three stuccho reliefs depicting rapes—or more precisely the forcible abduction of unconsenting

> sexual partners: Jupiter taking Europa, Neptune taking Amymone, and Pluto carrying Proserpina into the underworld. Combined with a fourth relief of the enthroned Jupiter conferring with the gods, the three rape scenes thematize the rights of dominion each god enjoys in his respective region—earth, sea, and underworld—analogous to the rights of dominion enjoyed by Federigo Gonzaga and the other princely rulers in the empire of Charles V. Placed between a centauromachy and an amazonomachy below, and Jupiter destroying Phaethon in the vault above, these scenes of rape contribute to the ceiling's central theme of displaying the manifold aspects of Federigo's personal and political power.[55]

In her discussion of this and other decorative programs of this period, Carroll underscores the persuasive power of representing and legitimating political absolutism in terms of erotic prowess. Reading Aeschylus' account of the colonization of Aetna in this light, we see once more that political hegemony masquerades as sexual conquest with women as symbol for a land and its people. The power of husbands and rulers is read as one and the same; the torches of war are called those of marriage.[56]

We have come full circle, back to Plato's wedding torch, passed on from one household to another, from one generation to the next, as a symbol of family identity and cultural continuity. But now we recognize its ambivalent nature: fire, the harbinger of civilization, never completely loses its potential for destruction. In 1615, a war between France and Spain was brought to an end through a double marriage between the two royal families, and the transformation from war to peace through marriage was celebrated with the following announcement:

> War is dead, and those who carried the torch of division within the state are those who now carry the torch of love. They sacrifice all their enmities on the altar of faith and make a victim without bile for the happy alliance of their scepters.[57]

Greek colonial discourse makes this same substitution of erotics for politics. The prominence of marriage imagery and tales of rape in Greek colonial discourse betray much more than the fact of Greco-native marriage (although that fact is not unimportant). In addition, it suggests a strategy for representing colonization at its moment of contact, and often conflict, with indigenous populations. The legitimation of violence is part of what lies behind the use of marriage imagery in colonial discourse; equally important are the ideology of acculturation and a belief in marriage as a model for the integration of Greek and native elements. All three issues depend upon the impulse, pervasive in Greek thought, to equate women and the land as partners in the cosmic cycle of productivity, both in need of men and their tools of civilization in order to bear fruit.

Notes

1. In both the literary and iconographical traditions, rape and marriage are often conflated or confused, and the significant but ambiguous role allotted to sexual violence reflects the paradox of Greek marriage. On the one hand, for a woman, marriage serves as the inevitable goal of adulthood; it provides the framework for her participation in civic and

family life. But at the same time, marriage represents a threatening change of status, a violation of a virgin's personal integrity and a harsh separation from her family and all that is familiar. Sexual violence is thus very much a part of the Greek conception of marriage, and in the following discussion I will treat accounts of marriage and rape not as reflective of separate ideologies but as two aspects of one cultural construct, each of which is important for representations of colonial foundations.

2. Burkert 1985 pp. 58–59; Zeitlin 1986.

3. Marriage as an institution is allied with many other aspects of Greek culture, and the following discussion is by no means intended to be comprehensive. I am primarily concerned with outlining those major points that will be relevant to my subsequent discussion of its role in representations of colonization. For more complete treatments of Greek marriage, see Detienne 1977; Redfield 1982; Vernant 1988 pp. 45–70; Oakley and Sinos 1993.

4. On the *anakalupteria* ritual, see Oakley and Sinos 1993; Sissa 1990 pp. 94–99 on the significance of the unveiling ritual as symbolic of the bride's subsequent loss of virginity. Cf. Plato *Laws* 771e where the discussion concerns putting an end to this tradition of husband and wife meeting as strangers.

5. Cf. Odysseus' famous speech to Nausicaa at *Od.* 6.180–84 where he describes the perfect marriage as one where husband and wife are like-minded in all respects.

6. Vernant 1977 p. viii.; Redfield 1982 pp. 192–93.

7. Detienne 1977 p. 117; Oakley and Sinos 1993.

8. Zenobius 3.98 = 855 *PMG.*

9. Detienne 1977 pp. 116–18: " the various culinary instruments paraded on the wedding day—the pan for roasting barley, the sieve and the pestle—can be seen as mediators between the two extreme terms reconciled in the figure of the child who is both crowned with thorny plants and loaded with bread. At one extreme we have the wild fruits and plants which represent the food of an age that preceded the cultivation of cereals; at the other, the loaves of bread ready to be eaten as a pledge for the newly married couple's impending participation in the life of milled corn" (p. 117). See also Vernant 1977 pp. vi–x; Redfield 1982 p. 193.

10. Catullus 62.

11. Cf. Henderson 1991 pp. 134–36, 166–69; Dubois 1988 pp. 39–85 for further examples of agricultural imagery used to describe sexual congress.

12. See also Aesch. *Sept.* 750–55; Soph. *Ant.* 569; *OT* 1207–12; 1255–57; 1484–85; 1496–98.

13. Vernant 1977 p. ix.

14. Menander *Perikeiromene* 1013–14. Similarly, Plutarch (*Mor.* 144 b) remarks that the Athenians observe three sacred ploughings, and the most sacred of all is the "marital sowing and ploughing for the procreation of children."

15. Zeitlin 1982 p. 141 observes that in myth and ritual women are more often associated with cosmic phenomena and cycles than with historical time frames or events. See also Detienne 1977 p. 116.

16. Vernant 1988 p. 62.

17. Plut. *Mor.* 139 d.

18. There are also strong connections made between marriage and sacrifice. See Foley 1982; and on the sexualization of ritual killing: Burkert 1985 pp. 58–72.

19. For discussions of the iconographic traditions of marriage and abduction, see Jenkins 1983 (hand-on-wrist motif); Sourvinou-Inwood 1987a (associations with ephebes, hunting); Oakley and Sinos 1993.

20. Cf. the opening simile in Pindar's *Ol.* 7.1–6 where the bride is transferred from one household to another.

21. Cf. Eur. *Med.* 230–51; Soph. Fr. 524 Nauck.

22. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 271 d–e. See Redfield 1982 p. 191.

23. *Hymn Hom. Cer.* 8. Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 9.36–37; 109–11. For a discussion of flower picking in erotic poetry, see Henderson 1976.

24. Cf. the end of Catullus 11. In this poem, Catullus inverts the traditional gender roles and describes Lesbia's destruction of his love in epithalamial terms; his love is like a flower at the edge of the meadow, cut down by the plough.

25. Cf. Zeitlin 1986 p. 143. She argues that the erotic is largely inseparable from the notion of coercive power, and for this reason there is "a tension between the notion of sexual union (and marriage) as a wedding of opposites in a harmonious ensemble that may symbolize a general cultural harmony, and that darker side, where the mythic imagination cannot keep sexuality in the bedroom and out of the same camp as its antithetical activities such as war, violent struggle, or the animal world where the male tames his horses and the hunter pursues and overtakes his prey."

26. Paus. 7.4.8.

27. Cf. Paus. 2.29.2. There is a close parallel from the American colonial tradition of Virginia and Maryland as sister provinces; see John Hammond, author of a 1659 pamphlet entitled "Leah and Rachel, or, The Two Fruitfull Sisters Virginia and Mary-land," in Hall 1910 pp. 281–308.

28. Rougé 1970 and Van Compernolle 1983 both argue that the colonists did marry local women. See Graham 1984 who argues that Greek women must have joined the colonists to serve as priestesses for Greek cults. For more on the question of Greco-native interaction in general, see the essays collected in *Modes de contact* 1983 and Descoeudres 1990.

29. Van Compernolle 1983; he even suggests that Livy might be drawing upon a Greek colonial tradition.

30. Paus. 5.7.2–4. See also Pind. *Nem.* 1; Ibycus fr. 23 Bergk. This mythic type is itself drenched in erotic symbolism. In preparation for the Greek wedding ceremony, bridegrooms were traditionally bathed in local rivers. This ritual is thought to stem from the belief in the fertile power of water, which was most pronounced in rivers. For this reason, rivers are often personified in Greek art and myth as gods known for their lechery. See Ginouvès 1962 pp. 421–22; Oakley and Sinos 1993.

31. See Shapiro 1988 for the similar tradition of personifying land as female in vase painting.

32. Cited in Kolodny 1975 pp. 11–12.

33. Kolodny 1975 p. 5.

34. Kolodny 1975 p. 5. Cf. Sahlins 1985 p. 48; he describes a similar practice in Fiji. "Dynastic legends tell of the origin of the ruling line from the union of an immigrant prince with a ranking woman of indigenous people. The chiefs stand henceforth as wifetakers and sisters' sons to the people of the land." We find the same situation in the *Aeneid* with Aeneas' dynastic marriage to Lavinia.

35. Cf. Young 1968; Segal 1986a pp. 68–69.

36. Cf. Duchemin 1955 pp. 240–41 for the symbol of the rose in Pindar.

37. Norwood 1945 p. 140. We must not forget that Pindar's odes were primarily heard in performance, not read as a text. Throughout the poem Pindar refers to the island only in the oblique cases in which there is no phonological difference between the Greek words for the island and the flower. See also Lawall 1961 p. 33; Young 1968 p. 89.

38. See Calame 1990 pp. 291–92 on themes of civilization and agriculture in this poem.

39. Cited in Hall 1910 pp. 343–44.

40. Cf. Dion. Hal. 19 Fr. 2.

41. See Maurizio 1992 for this discussion of the metaphorical associations between the wild goat and the wild fig. See Plut. *Mor.* 139 b for the licentiousness and sexuality typically associated with τράγοι.

42. On satyrs and sexuality, see Lissarrague 1990b and more generally, Lissarrague 1990a.

43. The female fig, or συκῆ, functions as a metaphor for the female when sexuality is suggested. See Henderson 1991 pp. 118, 135. On the pollination of fig trees, see Hdt. 1.193.5: "The method of cultivation (of the date palm) is the same as for figs, particularly in regard to the practice of taking the fruit of what the Greeks call the 'male' palm and tying it into the 'female' or date-bearing tree, to allow the gall-fly to enter the fruit and ripen it and prevent it from dropping off. For it is a fact that the male palms have the gall-fly in their fruit, like wild figs."

44. Cf., for example, Soph. *OT* 1207.

45. See for example, Plato *Phaedr.* 250e; Aristotle *Hist. An.* 575a13. The hyperfertility of rivers noted above also applies here.

46. Strab. 6.3.2–3. Cf. Vidal-Naquet 1986 pp. 212–14.

47. Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 9 where the marriage of Apollo and Cyrene produces both a child and a colony.

48. There are actually three roles that a woman plays in her lifetime: virgin, mother, and widow, and all three roles are pertinent to colonization as well. Land that was once colonized or occupied but subsequently abandoned is characterized as "widowed." Stephanus of Byzantium records a Delphic oracle that refers to the city of Arne in such terms: Ἄρνη χηρεύσασα μένει Βοιώτιον ἄνδρα (the widowed Arne awaits her Boeotian husband). Thus a land that was once settled but then abandoned is like a woman once married but then left alone when her husband dies. Homer uses this same image to describe the island of the Cyclopes; the perfect uninhabited colonial site is also bereft of men (ἀνδρῶν χηρεύει). For this reading of χηρεύει, see Clay 1980.

49. Vernant 1977 p. ix.

50. Vernant 1977 p. x: "Positioned as it is between, on the one hand, a radical rejection of physical union and, on the other, exaltation of the pleasures of love to the exclusion of all else, lying between sexual impotence and an excess of sexual potency, both of them equally infertile, marriage like the cereals stands for the 'right distance': this alone can guarantee that the labour of marriage will bring forth an abundant harvest of legitimate fruits of good stock."

51. Hom. *Od.* 9.116–39; Archil. Fr. 17 T.

52. Macrob. *Saturn.* 5.19.24 (F 6 Radt): "In Sicilia Symaethus fluvius est. iuxta hunc nympha Thalia conpressu Iovis gravida metu Iononis optavit, ut sibi terra dehisceret. factum est. sed ubi venit tempus maturitatis infantum, quos alvo illa gestaverat, reclusa terra est et duo infantes de alvo Thaliae progressi emerserunt appellatique sunt 'Palici' ἀπό τοῦ 'πάλιν ἱκέσθαι', quoniam prius in terram mersi denuo inde reversi sunt."

53. Servius ad *Aen.* 9.581 = p. 127–28 Radt. Steph. Byz. 496.7 Meineke (F 7 Radt). He traces this genealogy to Aeschylus and this play; he also notes that Silenus, in his *Sicelica*, makes Aetna the daughter of an Oceanid and Hephaestus. I will discuss this foundation tradition further, especially within its Aeschylean context, in the following chapter.

54. Diod. 11.49.

55. Carroll 1989 p. 6.

56. An inscription accompanying a representation of the rape of Europa upon a triumphal arch for the entry of King Charles IX and his queen into Paris in 1571 suggests Zeus' rape of Europa as the model both for Charles' future marriage to Isabel of Spain and for his

intended conquest of Asia: "Par le vieil Jupiter Europe fut ravie:/ Le ieune ravira par Isabel l'Asie." (As the old Jupiter ravished Europa, the young one, through Isabel, will ravish Asia.) Charles is a young Jupiter imitating the god's erotic and political prowess. Quoted in Carroll 1989 p. 12.

57. *La Réponse de Guerin à M. Guillaume et les resiouissances des Dieus sur les heureuses alliances de France et d'Espagne* (Paris, 1612), p. 49. Cited in Carroll 1989 (her translation).

II

Texts in Context: Staging the City

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5

Hieron and Aetna

Σύνες ὅ τοι λέγω,
ζαθέων ἱερῶν ἐπώνυμε
πάτερ, κτίστωρ Αἴτνας

Understand what I say to you, eponymous father of the very divine holy rites, founder of Aetna (Pindar Fr. 105a)

Just as a city's founder lies buried in the middle of the agora, the colonial narrative occupies a central position in the development and production of a city's emerging self-identity. For this reason, colonial tales will both reflect the circumstances that originally dictated a colony's foundation and respond to new influences and civic concerns. In spite of the necessary flexibility and variation within individual colonial traditions as they develop over time, an overall narrative pattern emerges that describes the Greek colonial experience in the archaic period as a Delphically authorized response to civic crisis at home. Each of the first three stages in this colonial plot (crisis, Delphi, settlement) links up with a cultural metaphor that addresses the anxieties and conflicts inherent in overseas settlement. These metaphors describe colonization either as an act of purification (murder), interpretation (riddles), or civilization (marriage). Now that we have sketched out the "what" of colonial tales, their narrative pattern and metaphors, we must ask the next question—how are colonial traditions circulated? What are the poetic and cultural contexts suitable for telling the tale of a city's colonial origins? Choral poetry, due in large part to its civic nature and its performance context, creates a particularly appropriate setting for staging the story of a city's origins. Using Hieron of Syracuse's colonization of Aetna and the art and literature that celebrate the foundation as a kind of "generic test laboratory," this chapter will explore Greek tragedy and epinician poetry as two specific genres of choral poetry that accommodate colonial discourse within their own poetic arenas.

Any discussion of how colonial discourse operates *in situ* is likely to be frustrated by two facts. First, although foundation tales were popular throughout Greek literature, most of those that survive come to us secondhand, separated from their original poetic context. Second, since there was no specific genre of colonization poetry in the archaic period, tales of colonial foundations find their way into many different kinds of poetic contexts. The themes and conventions of colonial dis-

course inevitably shape and are shaped by those of the genre in which they are embedded, and in most cases we can never know the details of how this bilateral negotiation works. We saw in the first chapter, for example, that Athenaeus, in the third century C.E., preserves an anecdote from Archilochus about a certain Aethiops, a member of Syracuse's colonial expedition who was such a glutton that for a mere honey cake he bartered away the allotment of land that he was due to receive upon arrival.[1] Nothing survives, however, from the Archilochean corpus to show exactly how he incorporated this anecdote into its original poetic context. Was it part of a longer narrative poem specifically about the foundation of Syracuse? Or did it serve as a biting characterization of a greedy man in a satiric context? All we can say is that Archilochus wove colonial traditions into his poetic texts. The same limitation also applies to the tantalizingly brief fragments or mere references to colonial works by archaic poets such as Xenophanes or Mimnermus.[2]

A passage from *The Birds* by Aristophanes, a play that parodies a city foundation, provides some insight into the kinds of generic contexts that were known for embedding colonial legends. Once Peisthetaerus founds the new city of Cloudcuckooland, a poet immediately appears on the scene to sing songs in honor of the new city:

> μέλη πεποίηκ' εἰς τὰς Νεφελοκοκκυγίας
> τὰς ὑμετέρας, κύκλιά τε πολλὰ καὶ καλά,
> καὶ παρθένεια, καὶ κατὰ τὰ Σιμωνίδου.
>
> I have composed melic songs for your Cloudcuckooland, many and beautiful cyclic songs, both partheneia and the kind of songs Simonides sings. (917–19)

This passage confirms our suspicion that no specific genre of foundation poetry existed before Hellenistic times, for the poet is prepared to sing a wide variety of songs in celebration of the foundation of Cloudcuckooland—melic poetry, cyclic songs, partheneia, Simonidean specials. In honor of Peisthetaerus, founder of the new city, he proceeds to sing an identifiable parody of a Pindaric hyporcheme that celebrates Hieron as the founder of Aetna, and a few lines later, he refers to his song as a "Πινδαρεῖον ἔπος."[3] Partheneia, cyclic songs, the kind of poetry that Simonides and Pindar compose—these are all choral songs, and I want to suggest that choral poetry, especially the epinician ode and tragedy, provides the kind of civic, performance context well suited to the ongoing reenactment and public negotiation of the story of a city's origins.[4] A close look at Hieron's colonization of Aetna will allow us to talk more specifically about how these choral genres interact with colonial discourse, for this may have been the most celebrated city foundation ever.

Hieron was one of the four sons of Deinomenes, brother to the famous Gelon, who together with Theron of Acragas defeated the Carthaginians at the battle of Himera in 480. Hieron was made ruler of Gela while Gelon ruled at Syracuse; he then succeeded his brother as tyrant of Syracuse in 478, overcoming the claims of his other brother, Polyzelus. Two years later, in 476, Hieron decided to found a city of his own, and Diodorus of Sicily gives us the following account of the foundation:

> Hieron removed the Naxians and the Catanians from their cities and installed his own settlers, having gathered five thousand from the Peloponnesus and an additional five thousand from Syracuse. He then changed the city's name from Catana to Aetna, and he apportioned this land, adding to it much of the neighboring territory, to the entire sum of ten thousand settlers. He did this both because he was eager to have deserving help ready at hand for any need that might arise and so that from this new city of ten thousand men, he would receive heroic honors. (Diod. 11.49)

Indeed, as Diodorus tells us later in his account, when Hieron died eleven years later, he did in fact receive heroic honors since he was the founder of a city (καὶ τιμῶν ἡρωικῶν ἔτυχεν, ὡς ἄν κτίστης γεγονὼς τῆς πόλεως).[5]

Although this is a fifth-century colonial foundation, Hieron adheres closely to the model and duties of an archaic founder or oikist. He chooses the site, apportions allotments of land for the settlers, and names the city. Diodorus makes it clear that in return for these colonial duties, he, like Battus of Cyrene or Phalanthus of Tarentum, expects to enjoy heroic honors after death—the cult of the founder. Hieron also takes full advantage of the many representational strategies available to celebrate and consolidate a colonial foundation, especially poetry. Although Diodorus characterizes Hieron as a violent, greedy man—the very antithesis of a civilized gentleman—we hear that the tyrant invited the most famous and successful poets of his time to his court.[6] Aelian tells us that Hieron, like his brother Gelon, initially lacked culture (ἀμουσότατος), but that he (unlike Gelon) took advantage of his sickness to become educated and eventually became the most civilized (μουσικώτατος) of men.[7] Pindar, Bacchylides, Simonides, and Aeschylus all composed poetry at the tyrant's court, and much of it, as we will see, celebrated the colonization of Aetna and promoted Hieron's new and powerful status as city founder. But Hieron did not rely upon the poetic media alone to broadcast his fame; he had a coin minted in honor of the new city; vase paintings portrayed scenes from Aeschylus' play, and the new founder's name was called aloud in victory celebrations at the Panhellenic games. Hieron put on a truly spectacular public show, and so before focussing on choral poetry as an effective medium for circulating colonial traditions, let us take a look at the range of publicity he commanded in honor of his newly founded city.

First the visual representations of Aetna's foundation. Vase paintings survive which portray the city's foundation as the rape of a local nymph, Thalia, by an Olympian deity, Zeus.[8] The most detailed and iconographically interesting version appears on an amphora from Paestum[9] (Figure 5.1). The scene shows a fierce eagle, his powerful wings spread in flight, carrying off the nymph, here named Thalia, his claws around her waist. A radiant arc spans the air between his wings, imitating the crown worn by Thalia. Representations of plant life indicate that this is an outdoor scene. There is an altar on the left; on the right, we see a geometrically designed box, a ball, and a young boy (a satyr?) wearing a wreath.[10] The iconographical details combine to suggest that this is an erotic scene. The rape of Thalia as she plays outdoors reminds us of Persephone's similar rape at the hands of Hades; the ball she may have just been playing with evokes Nausicaa's sexually charged encounter with Odysseus on the island of Phaeacia.[11] Thus the vases portray visually the same sce-

Figure 5.1. Zeus raping Thalia. Neck amphora from Paestum, ca. 330–310 B.C.E. After Sir William Hamilton's Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases, vol. 1, plate 26. *(Photo courtesy of the Virginia State Library and Archives. Vase itself now lost.)*

nario we have seen at work in literary representations of colonial foundations. Rape and marriage imagery describes colonization as a kind of divine conquest—as Zeus takes possession of the local nymph, so Hieron gains control of her land.[12]

Zeus and his eagle, the quintessential symbols of hegemonic power, also appear on a coin that Hieron had minted for his new city, a silver Attic tetradrachm[13] (Figure 5.2). It is important to remember that in its initial stages, Greek coinage was not primarily a commercial tool, but rather, like poetry, a medium for forging and commemorating a city's civic identity.[14] In fact, if we "read" this coin together with *Pythian* 1, a poem "minted" for Hieron by Pindar at the same time, we will find the same images and tropes emblazoned on both. First the coin: the obverse reads AITNAION and shows the head of a bald Silenus wreathed with ivy; beneath him is

Figure 5.2. Zeus Aetnaeus. Silver Attic Tetradrachm (Reverse), ca. 476–461 B.C.E. Brussels, Coin Cabinet of the Royal Library. *(Photo courtesy of the Royal Library.)*

a scarab beetle. The reverse has Zeus Aetnaeus seated on a throne covered by an animal skin. One hand rests on an ivy staff; in the other he holds a winged thunderbolt. Nearby, an eagle with closed wings is perched atop a pine tree. Indeed, the coin is busy with images which, in a manner very similar to that of the poetry Hieron commissioned, invoke Zeus as the city's patron deity and reinforce the details of Aetna's foundation and cultural heritage.[15] Zeus Aetnaeus is present here not in the shape of an eagle but accompanied by the noble bird; he is shown seated, thunderbolt in hand, on a throne covered by a lion skin. The civic currency of the coin is thus guaranteed by such an overabundance of symbols for sovereignty. At the same time, the coin pays homage to the local characteristics of this land—its vines and pine trees, the Silenus and the scarab beetle. It is indeed a representational masterpiece.

Hieron, in his role as city founder, also competed successfully in the Panhel-

lenic games, and the victory celebration itself was as much a source of public display as the coins he had minted or the choral performances we will look at in a minute. In addition to the celebrations that took place at the games, upon returning home, the victorious athlete was met outside his city and led as part of a magnificent procession through the main streets and into the center of the city, the agora. Diodorus tells us that Exainetus, a Acragantine victor, was escorted by three hundred pairs of white horses.[16] The victory was then formally declared, perhaps in the agora, and honors bestowed upon the victor. The crown, symbol of the athlete's victory, was dedicated to a local god or hero, and the celebrations concluded with a banquet.[17] Hieron's victory in the chariot race at the Pythian games in 470, then, provides him with this highly public opportunity to celebrate his newfound status as city founder both in the international milieu of the games themselves and again upon his triumphal return home.

Vase paintings, coins, victory celebrations—we have not yet considered the poetic celebrations, and the extent to which Hieron publicized his role as city founder is truly amazing. In addition to reflecting Hieron's wealth and love of fame, this extensive public show reminds us that the power and significance of a colonial founder continue to thrive as part of the Greek civic *mentalité* long after the archaic colonization movement has ended. Now let us turn to the poetic representations of Hieron's city foundation and issues of genre; Aeschylus, Simonides, and Pindar all celebrated the colonial moment in choral song.

According to the anonymous life of Aeschylus, the tragic poet went to Sicily, and while Hieron was founding Aetna, Aeschylus produced the *Aetnaeae* "to be an omen of good luck for the settlers of the city."[18] The play has not survived intact, but we do have a four-line fragment, recorded by Macrobius, which alludes to a pair of Sicilian deities and includes exactly the kind of bilingual, etymological wordplay that we have come to associate with colonial representation. Macrobius explains that the Palici are local gods worshipped in Sicily and that Aeschylus (practically Sicilian himself) was the first to give an etymological interpretation of their name in his verses.[19] The etymology hinges on the story of their birth, which we just looked at in the previous chapter: a local nymph, Thalia, was made pregnant by Zeus and hid her pregnancy (through fear of Hera's wrath) beneath the earth.[20] When it came time for her to give birth, the earth opened up, and the two children emerged. As part of this narrative, Aeschylus explains their name, the Palici, as follows:

A. τί δῆτ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὄνομα θήσονται βροτοί;
B. σεμνοὺς Παλικοὺς Ζεὺς ἐφίεται καλεῖν.
A. ἦ καὶ Παλικῶν εὐλόγως μένει φάτις;
B. πάλιν γὰρ ἵκουσ' ἐκ σκότου τόδ' εἰς φάος.

A. What name then will mortals give to them?
B. Zeus bids [us] to call them the holy Palici.
A. And does the name of the Palici remain well chosen?
B. Yes, for they have returned from the darkness into the light.
(*Saturn.* 5.19.24 = F 6 Radt)

And so, embedded within a typical colonial narrative (Olympian god rapes local nymph) lies a bilingual, etymological pun which is also typical of archaic colonial

discourse. Aeschylus provides an explanation for the Sicel name for these twin gods that makes sense only in the Greek language. Within the dramatic setting of the *Aetnaeae*, they are called the Palici precisely because *in Greek* their name signifies a return, and this brief four-line fragment provides us with yet another example of the linguistic appropriation of a local cult.

Diodorus Siculus explains that the Palici were important Sicel gods: twin brothers, considered autochthonous deities by the local populations, their chthonic cult was located next to volcanic hot springs, a sacred area that surpassed all others in antiquity.[21] Diodorus vividly describes the "craters," which emit extraordinary streams of hot, sulfurous water from bottomless depths, sending forth a mighty and terrifying roar. Probably due to its mysterious underworld atmosphere, the sanctuary of the Palici played several important roles in Sicel life. Diodorus explains that since there is such a powerful divine presence at the sacred area, the greatest of oaths were sworn there, and those who swore falsely immediately received divine punishment (certain men lost their sight).[22] The Palici sanctuary also provided an asylum for maltreated slaves, and third, the site functioned as an oracle. Macrobius tells us that when Sicily was suffering a bad year for crops, the oracle of the Palici suggested that they sacrifice to the hero Pediocrates, and having done that, they recovered the fertility of their fields.[23] The cult of the Palici was thus a significant national center of worship for the indigenous Sicels; indeed, the sanctuary played an important role in the second Sicilian slave rebellion and in the national movement under the leadership of Ducetius in the mid fifth century.[24] We know from Diodorus that Ducetius, the Sicel leader, founded the city of Palice near the sacred precinct of the twin gods.[25]

The Palici, then, were important, autochthonous Sicilian gods, and their cult was celebrated throughout central Sicily. It seems clear that, just as Macrobius indicated, Aeschylus, in his play the *Aetnaeae*, provides a Greek etymology for the Sicilian name of the twin deities, the Palici.[26] We have seen that the technique of providing a Greek etymology for elements of local topography or cult is quite common to archaic Greek colonial discourse and that colonization tales, especially those that incorporate the ambiguous and enigmatic language of the Delphic oracle, like to build the ambiguity of bilingual puns into their vision of founding a new city. It is important to recognize Aeschylus' Greek etymology of the Palici, not just as a linguistic *tour de force*, but as part of a larger system of cultural appropriation and representation, one which helps celebrate and legitimate Greek presence in a foreign context.[27] In good colonial fashion, the Greeks have adapted Sicel legend so as to adopt the Palici into their own mythological family. In addition to etymologizing the name, the foundation myth itself, as Aeschylus is said to have told it, hellenizes local tradition. Separated from their native context as autochthonous deities, the Palici become sons of Zeus, the father of the Olympian gods, and a local nymph, Thalia or Aetna, the daughter of Hephaestus. The genealogical details, especially insofar as they are Greek innovations, are important; they specifically relate the relevant figures of Greek mythology (Zeus, Hephaestus) to significant local geographical features (the craters of the Palici, Mt. Aetna).

The shape of the narrative itself is familiar from colonial traditions as well: an Olympian god rapes a local nymph who then gives her name to the new city that emerges as a result of their intercourse. Implicit within this narrative pattern is the

representation of Greek settlement overseas as Greek cultural domination over local powers. The version that gives Thalia as the name of the local nymph underscores the blooming, reproductive aspect of her role in the narrative; she is the local repository for Zeus' Olympian seed.[28] In the *Aetnaeae*, Aeschylus recounts the founding of Aetna as the marriage of a local nymph and Zeus, and thus the birth of the Palici, that is, the origin of their cult, is predicated upon the Greek settlement of Aetna.

In addition, Aeschylus' particular etymology of Palici as "those who have returned" emphasizes the alleged continuity of Greek presence on Sicilian soil. While this emphasis on cultural continuity is immediately motivated by the violent and disruptive nature of Hieron's foundation of Aetna, we have seen that the need to establish prior rights to the land and the illusion of continuous Greek settlement appear prominently in colonial tales. By linking the foundation of their city to the labors of Heracles or the Trojan War heroes, the colonists of the archaic period claim prior rights to the land that they have just settled. In the same way, according to Aeschylus, the Palici are no longer Sicilian; they have been repatriated as the sons of Zeus and grandchildren of Hephaestus. Their very name in Greek represents colonization not as an imperial act but as an inevitable return.

The movement implicit in representing colonization as a return is mirrored by the five scene changes that take place in the *Aetnaeae*, for both the changes of scene and the etymological pun on the Palici emphasize a progession from the colonial site back to the place of Greek origin.[29] The first act takes place in Aetna; the second in Xouthia, a territory near the city of Leontini; then the action moves back to Aetna, then to Leontini, and finally the play concludes in Syracuse. Through this pointed emphasis on topography, the drama enacts a movement from local, indigenous sites to Greek cities—from Aetna the mountain and Xouthia, the pre-Greek Sicel territory, to Aetna, the Greek city founded by Hieron, and the Chalcidian colony of Leontini; the curtain then falls in Syracuse, the city where it all began.[30] We might consider the implications of this movement in light of a similar change of setting from Delphi to Athens in the *Oresteia*.[31] In both the final play of the *Oresteia* and in the *Aetnaeae*, the dramatic action returns to the city in which the play is being performed, and it returns as a means of political legitimation and explanation. The *Oresteia* uses the mythical past to legitimate the present; the trilogy establishes a connection between events in the house of Atreus and the politico-religious institutions of fifth-century Athens. Just as the culmination of the *Oresteia* refounds the Athenian court of the Areopagus, the resolution of the *Aetnaeae* celebrates the Syracusan foundation of Aetna.

This reading of the scene changes thus complements the discussion of etymological puns in colonial contexts. Folk etymologies generate narrative and forge a useful and relevant connection between word and object. Through the bilingual pun, the colonial narrative travels from the foreign word and local cult to find meaning in Greek language and mythology. In the same way, then, the geographical movement in the *Aetnaeae* shifts the location and focus of the drama from Aetna and its neighboring Sicel territory back to the theatre in Syracuse and its Greek audience. The end result of both colonial etymology and Aeschylean drama is the celebration of a new Greek city on foreign soil.

Before moving on to consider other poetic celebrations of Aetna's foundation, I

would like to take a moment to reflect upon drama as an appropriate poetic context for colonial representation. A Shakespearean scholar defines drama as "a communal art by whose means a community 'talks' to itself."[32] A successful play, then, is one in which the communal conversation is truly probing and confronts essential cultural issues and native tensions. Drama in ancient Greece as well provided the community at large with a forum for exploring and challenging its civic identity. Greek tragedy was performed as part of a publicly funded ritual; composed for a single performance as part of a civic festival, the plays were attended by the entire citizen body.[33] These citizens would come to watch and to participate in the latest chapter of an ongoing (and publicly staged) debate between myth and history. Within the bounds of the dramatic performance, a community's collective identity would be taken apart, scrutinized, and then reassembled as part of a cooperative process aimed at social integration.[34]

Greek tragedy, then, is very much a civic event, and for this reason, a suitable context for exploring a city's colonial origins. But even more to the point, drama as a forum for cultural enactment is the perfect setting for restaging the colonial experience. In many ways, as Terence Hawkes suggests in a discussion of the *The Tempest*, colonization and drama are similar acts of civic construction. The colonial moment, when colonists confront a new and unfamiliar world, is particularly ripe for theatrical representation, and Hawkes suggests that a colonist is in fact a kind of dramatist:

> He imposes the 'shape' of his own culture, embodied in his speech, on the new world, and makes that world recognizable, habitable, 'natural', able to speak his language. Like the gardener, he redeems untouched landscape by imprinting on it a humanizing art; he brings nurture to nature. Like Adam in Eden, he names things.[35]

Playing with language, manipulating it to represent the past so as to make it useful for the present—these are the tasks of both the colonial narrative and dramatic discourse. Colonists settling the New World bring their own language to bear upon this foreign landscape, and the art of drama can be eminently useful for this project; it can present events in ways that are persuasive and powerful.[36] Drama, in other words, as an institution that represents and engenders cultural identity, is a kind of cultural colonization itself, and in this respect the colonial etymology embedded within the *Aetnaeae* is in fact emblematic of the play's direction as a whole. Aeschylus composed the drama in celebration of Aetna's foundation. Enacted onstage, the colonial enterprise would be brought home to Hieron and the other spectators—Aetna brought home to Syracuse, the Palici returned from the darkness into the light. Tragedy, "an involving performance," invites the citizen audience to witness a reenactment of its civic origins; more important, it allows them to participate in a public naming of their city.[37]

Let us turn now to the other poetic treatments of Aetna's colonial origins. An unfortunately brief but tantalizing testimonium to a poem of Simonides suggests that he, too, may have celebrated Aetna's foundation. Aelian tells us that Simonides was one of the poets at Hieron's court, and a scholium to Theocritus contains a reference to what may have been another poem composed in honor of

Aetna's civic origins.[38] The passage explains that the Sicilian mountain, Aetna, takes its name from Aetna, the daughter of Heaven and Earth (as Alcimus says in his work on Sicily), and "Simonides says that Aetna judged Hephaestus and Demeter who were competing for the land" (Σιμωνίδης δὲ Αἴτνην φησὶ κρῖναι Ἥφαιστον καὶ Δήμητραν περὶ τῆς χώρας ἐρίσαντας).[39] Admittedly, the reference is brief and its context elusive, but given Aeschylus' explicitly colonial narrative of Zeus' rape of the local nymph Aetna, it is not impossible that the Aetna of the Simonidean poem belongs to the same colonial tradition.[40]

Several details locate the Simonides fragment in a colonial landscape. First of all, the cast of characters is familiar: Aetna here must be the eponymous nymph; she gives her name to the mountain. In the *Aetnaeae*, Aetna (or Thalia) is closely linked with the natural elements; in one account, she is the daughter of Hephestus and an Oceanid. In Simonides, she is the daughter of the archetypal elements of Heaven and Earth.[41] Hephaestus, a Greek god associated with volcanic topography, is included in Aeschylus' version as Aetna's father; in this passage, he competes with Demeter for the land. Elsewhere the Greek mythmaking process has extended the *timai* and jurisdiction of Hephaestus and Demeter to include Sicily. Hephaestus, as the Greek god of fire, especially metal-working fire, has cults in the volcanic regions of Asia Minor and Lemnos; it is no surprise then to learn that his forge is located under Aetna or, as Aeschylus says in the *Aetnaeae*, that he is Aetna's father.[42] Demeter, goddess of the earth's grain, also has strong connections with the agriculturally fertile Sicily, and the island even challenged Eleusis' claim to be the place where Demeter first gave mortals the gift of corn. The area of Enna has become the legendary site of Hades' rape of Persephone, and in *Nemean* 1, Pindar alludes to a tradition in which Zeus gave the island to Demeter's daughter Persephone as a wedding present.[43]

We can also imagine an aetiologically oriented narrative scenario for this fragment. The eponymous nymph Aetna, symbolic of the local ownership of the territory, acts as a referee to judge (willingly, we assume) which of the two Greek gods, Demeter or Hephaestus, will take possession of the land. The motif of two Olympian gods competing for territory is, of course, a familiar one. Herodotus refers to the Athenian tradition, portrayed on the West pediment of the Parthenon, in which Athena and Poseidon compete for Athens, and Erechtheus serves as judge.[44] Apollodorus provides us with further details. In the time of Cecrops, both Athena and Poseidon resolved to take possession of Attica. Poseidon was the first to arrive, and striking his trident upon the ground, he produced a sea that is now called Erechtheis. Athena arrived next and planted an olive tree. When the two gods contested their possession of the territory, Zeus appointed the twelve gods as arbiters, and they determined that the land be given to Athena since she had been the first to plant the olive.[45] It is not difficult to imagine that such a plot could be adapted to the Sicilian soil and form part of a colonial narrative. No matter who wins the contest, Demeter or Hephaestus, the outcome is the same: a local representative of Aetna (an eponymous nymph whose original rights to the land are indisputable—she is daughter of Heaven and Earth) adjudicates a territory dispute and deeds ownership of the land to the Greeks. Again, as in Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae*, Simonides gives local players bit parts in a Greek imperial narrative. Aeschylus uses the god-rapes-nymph story line; Simonides adapts a different plot—that of two

gods competing for tutelary rights to important territory.[46] The final episode in either story is the incorporation of local phenomena into the Greek mythological system and, even more important, Greek control of local land.

Now let us turn to Pindar. *Pythian* 1 was composed to honor Hieron's victory in the chariot races in the Pythian games in 470, but as R.W.B. Burton points out, the poem's real focus is "to give immortal fame to the highest achievements of the Deinomenid dynasty in Sicily . . . he (Pindar) sees the foundation of Etna as the establishment of a fresh outpost of the Dorian way of life."[47] Indeed, just as Aeschylus composed the *Aetnaeae* as an omen of good luck for the citizens of the new city, Pindar offers his ode to Hieron in celebration of the city's propitious foundation:

> ναυσιφορήτοις δ' ἀνδράσι πρώτα χάρις
> ἐς πλόον ἀρχομένοις πομπαῖον ἐλθεῖν
> οὖρον· ἐοικότα γάρ
> καὶ τελευτᾷ φερτέρου νόστου τυχεῖν.
>
> The first grace for seafaring men as they start upon a voyage is for a fair wind to come as escort. For it is likely that they will come upon a stronger return also in the end. (33–35)

Pindar thus suggests that as a fair breeze at the start of a sailing expedition bodes well for its safe return, so the auspicious beginning of Hieron's new city, celebrated publicly at the Pythian games, is indicative of its continued prosperity.[48]

Pythian 1 opens with the famous image of the golden lyre, common possession of Apollo and the violet-tressed Muses. Its music smooths even the feathers of the eagle that sleeps upon the scepter of Zeus.[49] The lyre and the civilizing power of music set the tone for the theme of order that dominates the rest of the poem. Pindar then tells the tale of Zeus' imprisonment of the hundred-headed monster Typhon, an enemy of the gods, beneath the crags of Mt. Aetna, and the myth's conclusion celebrates Hieron both as Pythian victor and founder of the city that takes its name from Zeus' famous mountain. The very structure of the Typhon episode is significant. Pindar tells the tale of the monster's defeat in careful ring composition, beginning and ending with Zeus, thus embedding the natural phenomenon of Mt. Aetna spewing forth its volcanic fire within the larger narrative pattern of Zeus' hegemonic battle with the forces of chaos.[50]

After a brilliant description of the wondrous volcano itself, Pindar returns to Typhon, bound under the peaks of Aetna, famed for its pine trees, and finally concludes the myth with the following prayer to Zeus:

> εἴη, Ζεῦ, τὶν εἴη ἀνδάνειν,
> ὃς τοῦτ' ἐφέπεις ὄρος, εὐκάρποιο γαί-
> ας μέτωπον, τοῦ μὲν ἐπωνυμίαν
> κλεινὸς οἰκιστὴρ ἐκύδανεν πόλιν
> γείτονα, Πυθιάδος δ' ἐν δρόμῳ κά-
> ρυξ ἀνέειπέ νιν ἀγγέλ-
> λων Ἱέρωνος ὑπὲρ καλλινίκου
> ἅρμασι.

> May it be pleasing to you, Zeus, who rule this mountain, the brow of a well-fruited land, whose neighboring city of the same name the glorious founder made famous; at the Pythian racecourse, the herald proclaimed it, making his announcement on behalf of Hieron victorious with the chariot. (29–33)

The prayer to Zeus both brings the circular myth back to its beginning and reaches out to include Hieron within the scope of Zeus' patronage. In contrast to Typhon, for whom Zeus has no friendship (μὴ πεφίληκε, 13), we are led to believe that Hieron is included within Zeus' bonds of φιλία. Pindar celebrates Hieron's recent accomplishments in light of Zeus' theogonic deeds. Zeus, king of the gods, solidifies his divine rule and creates a state of cosmic law and order when he subdues Typhon and imprisons him beneath Mt. Aetna. Similarly, Pindar suggests, Hieron constructs a state of civic order when he founds a city with the same name.[51]

In addition to establishing the framework for reading Hieron's civic foundation as a mortal imitation of Zeus' consolidation of divine power, the Typhon myth here, localized in a Sicilian landscape, serves yet another rhetorical purpose within the broader context of colonial discourse. Just as Aeschylus explains that the autochthonous Palici are descended from the Greek Pantheon and that their life story follows typically Greek narrative patterns, Pindar uses a Greek myth here to embrace and describe the origins of a local topographical feature. The volcanic mountain's significance is explained in terms of the narrative we know from Hesiod's *Theogony*, which highlights the defeat of the Titans as the critical moment in the consolidation of Zeus' Olympian rule.[52] By locating Typhon's prison in Sicily beneath Mt. Aetna and making him the irruptive source of the destructive volcano, Pindar appropriates a local phenomenon and invests it with Greek meaning; furthermore, he includes the colonization of Aetna within the continuing narrative of the Greek cosmic victory over barbarian chaos.[53]

At the end of the third triad, Pindar introduces Hieron's son, Deinomenes, who has been established as the king of the new city; a song must be sung on his behalf as well. In celebrating the excellence that the Deinomonid family bequeaths from one generation to another, from father to son, Pindar characterizes the new city of Aetna similarly as heir to the Dorian way of life, passed down from the mainland Dorian centers to the colonial cities of Sicily.[54] Pindar announces that he must discover a song dear to Hieron's son, the king of Aetna, for whom Hieron founded that city according to the Dorian traditions of Hyllus:

> θέλοντι δὲ Παμφύλου
> καὶ μὰν Ἡρακλειδᾶν ἔκγονοι
> ὄχθαις ὕπο Ταϋγέτου ναίοντες αἰ-
> εἰ μένειν τεθμοῖσιν ἐν Αἰγιμιοῦ
> Δωριεῖς.
>
> The descendants of Pamphylus and the Heracleidae, dwelling beneath the crags of Mt. Taygetus, wish *always to remain* Dorians under the constitution of Aegimius. (62–65)

In addition to celebrating Aetna's foundation as a continuation of the Dorian way of life, Pindar deploys here the kind of bilingual wordplay Aeschylus used in the *Aet-*

naeae. The phrase αἰεὶ μένειν "always to remain" becomes a verbal play on the name of the local river, the Amenes:

> Ζεῦ τέλει', αἰεὶ δὲ τοιαύταν Ἀμένα παρ' ὕδωρ
> αἶσαν ἀστοῖς καὶ βασιλεῦσιν διακρί-
> νειν ἔτυμον λόγον ἀνθρώπων.
>
> Zeus accomplisher, determine that there always be such a portion beside the water of the *Amenes* for the citizens and the kings, according to the true account of men. (67–68)

Pindar translates the local river name, Amenes, into Greek as αἰεὶ μένειν "always to remain," and clearly flags the wordplay both through the repetition of the adverb αἰεὶ prior to the proper noun and especially by referring to the "true report of men" (ἔτυμον λόγον ἀνθρώπων). Etymological puns are typically signalled by the use of adverbs such as ὀρθῶς and ἐτυμῶς.[55] Pindar imposes a Greek translation upon a local place-name in a manner not unlike the tradition that explains the name of the Palici as "those who have returned." His particular translation of Amenes as "always to remain" also provides a sense of continuity and long-standing tradition to the city's brand new foundation.[56]

By steeping *Pythian* 1 in the language and legends of colonization, not only does Pindar praise Hieron as victor, but more important, he elevates him to the status of a founding hero, and we can begin to see how colonial traditions work as part of a larger epinician strategy of praise. Pindar often invokes local heroic traditions which will embrace both the victorious athlete and the city his victory helps make famous.[57] He equates the present athletic accomplishment of the victor with the great mythological events of the city's heroic past. A quick glance at the list of Pindar's victors and their native cities shows that in addition to Hieron, many of his clients come from colonial cities founded in the archaic period—Arcesilaus and Telesicrates of Cyrene, Hagesidamus of Western Locri. Since Pindar's method of praise tends to include the comparison, explicit or implicit, of the victor to an important mythological or heroic figure associated with his city, when the victor comes from a colony, colonial legends often replace the ancestral mythology native to cities in the Greek mainland. In many cases, new colonies lack age-old local connections to the heroes of traditional mythology, and so Pindar substitutes the local founding traditions to the same end.

In the odes that draw upon colonial traditions, Pindar suggests that there is an implicit similarity between colonization and victory at the Panhellenic games, and he develops this insight by juxtaposing the parallel careers of the founder and the victor. As we saw in the opening chapter, the founder of a city is a valued, honored figure; he gives the city its name; he marks out civic boundaries and establishes the precincts of the gods.[58] An athletic victor also contributes to the glory of his city; he causes its name to be called out in victory at Delphi or Olympia. Pindar spells out this connection between city founder and athletic victor in *Pythian* 1, for Hieron, the victor in the chariot race, was also the founder of the city of Aetna. For these reasons, as we will see, colonial legends are easily accommodated within the poetic scheme of the victory ode.[59]

Indeed the epinician ode proves to be another receptive genre for the singing of

colonial tales. Like drama, epinician poetry entails a choral performance that allows the community to participate in the victory celebrations.[60] The epinician ode is traditionally performed as part of the ceremony celebrating a victor's return home to his native city, and this particular ritual occasion provides an ideal public forum for exploring issues of civic identity as well. As Anne Burnett suggests, since choral rituals bring the mythic past to bear upon the present occasion in order to set the terms and (re)define the boundaries of a cult or practice, they would be especially appropriate to solidify the foundations of new civic constructions.[61] While archaic poetry was always performed within social settings, choral poetry differs from monody or elegy in that it literally includes the community within its very performance.[62] The poet's role is that of teacher; his poetry transmits a society's ethical value system, and the community participates in this civic education both as audience and insofar as it is represented in the composition of the chorus itself.[63] Claude Calame's study of the function of the chorus in archaic Sparta has shown that the composition of adolescent choruses depends narrowly on the political structures of the city; they represent the social body.[64] These same observations would undoubtedly apply to the civic choruses that performed epinican odes as well. Participation in a chorus is thus a public activity; it is the job of the chorus to represent the city at large.[65]

In addition to its performance mode, epinician poetry also shares with drama a primary concern with the larger civic community of the victor. We have already remarked that epinician poetry is performed at celebrations designed to reincorporate the victor into his community, and Pindar will often explicitly state that the city actively takes part in the victory celebrations.[66] The civic nature of the epinican ode, however, differs in important ways from that of drama; it focuses more narrowly on the special and potent relationship between the individual victor and his city. The occasion for the performance of a victory ode is the victor's triumphant return home, and his victory causes his name to be celebrated in conjunction with that of his city. Precisely because of his victory in Panhellenic competition, a returning athletic victor bestows a certain talismanic power, or *kudos*, upon his native city; the victory ceremony negotiates this sharing of power between the victor and the community at large, and epinician poetry celebrates the moment.[67] The transfer of symbolic power from an individual to his city is a critical step in the colonial process as well, and the victory celebration provides an appropriate occasion for its commemoration. To see how this works, let us return briefly to a passage from *Pythian* 1 that we discussed earlier: Pindar's prayer to Zeus on behalf of Hieron as both founder and victor:

> εἴη, Ζεῦ, τὶν εἴη ἀνδάνειν,
> ὃς τοῦτ' ἐφέπεις ὄρος, εὐκάρποιο γαί-
> ας μέτωπον, τοῦ μὲν ἐπωνυμίαν
> κλεινὸς οἰκιστὴρ ἐκύδανεν πόλιν
> γείτονα, Πυθιάδος δ' ἐν δρόμῳ κά-
> ρυξ ἀνέειπέ νιν ἀγγέλ-
> λων Ἱέρωνος ὑπὲρ καλλινίκου
> ἅρμασι. (29–33)

It is significant that Hieron has himself announced at the games as Hieron of Aetna, rather than as Hieron of Syracuse, as he is in Bacchylides' ode for the same victory. Thus, within this ritual context, victory for Hieron in the Pythian games includes a public celebration of his role as founder as well. Note the use of the verb κυδαίνω here it is by virtue of his role as a colonial founder (κλεινὸς οἰκιστήρ) that Hieron has acquired the talismanic power (*kudos*) which he bestows upon the city (ἐκύδανεν πόλιν) within the context of his athletic victory. This precise formula is traditionally used to commemorate the athletic victory itself, but here Pindar substitutes the act of foundation for victory.[68] Colonial founders, as Hieron knows, wield extraordinary ritual power, and the cult of the founder permanently locates that power within the city's center. In many ways, the celebration of a city founder and that of an athletic victor negotiate the same obstacles and achieve the same goal—they both mark the transfer of power from the individual to the city. In *Pythian* 1, Pindar suggests that the victory celebration, complete with its public proclamation of Hieron and his city, is the ideal context for honoring a city founder; it replicates the original act of foundation.

The next three chapters will focus more specifically on the interaction between epinican poetry and colonial discourse. How do the metaphors and narrative themes of colonial representation contribute to the epinician project? In what ways does the victory ode provide the occasion for singing a colony's founding song? But first, there is one last poetic celebration to mention in our survey of Aetna's colonial repertoire. Perhaps the most bold in its praise of Hieron as colonial founder, the following fragmentary hyporcheme identifies the cult of the founder as the source of his never-ending fame:

> Σύνες ὅ τοι λέγω,
> ζαθέων ἱερῶν ἐπώνυμε
> πάτερ, κτίστωρ Αἴτνας·
> * * *
> νομάδεσσι γὰρ ἐν Σκύθαις ἀλᾶται στρατῶν
> ὃς ἀμαξοφόρητον οἶκον οὐ πέπαται,
> ἀκλεὴς ⟨δ'⟩ ἔβα.
>
> Understand what I say to you, eponymous father of very divine holy rites, founder of Aetna.
> * * *
> For he wanders from his people among the Scythian pastures, he who does not have a home borne upon wagons goes without fame.
> (Pindar Fr. 105a and b)[69]

In the first part of the poem as it is preserved, Pindar links Hieron as founder with the larger civic community. Pointedly omitting the tyrant's proper name, Pindar suggests that Hieron was born to receive heroic honors by deriving his name etymologically from the very celebrations his colonial foundation of Aetna was intended to secure (ζαθέων ἱερῶν ἐπώνυμε). Hieron is thus invoked simultaneously as Aetna's city founder and as the eponymous namesake of the heroic cult enjoyed by

a city's oikist. City founders are buried in the very heart of the city, the agora, and from that focal point, the cult of the founder helps the city determine and celebrate its civic origins and identity. The founder's cult as Hieron's source of fame, an icon of fixity and centrality, is starkly contrasted in the second part of the poem with the apolitical mobility of an anonymous, homeless man, wandering among the Scythian pastures; he goes without fame (ἀκλεής). Far from receiving the important political honors that Hieron enjoys, this man is separated from his fellow citizens and wanders among the Scythians, a people famous for their nomadic, anticivic lifestyle. Herodotus explains that the Scythians lack cities or fortified sites; they carry their houses with them and shoot bows from horseback. They do not farm but depend on herds of cattle for their livelihood.[70] Unlike Greek colonial founders, Scythian kings are not buried in a central spot, but at the furthest limits of their subject nations and in secret locations.[71] This anonymous man thus finds himself in a landscape marked by its lack of political focus, and Pindar suggests that his absence of fame is directly related to this nomadic lifestyle. Hieron, on the other hand, as city founder, derives his renown specifically from his centrally located cult. His name, thanks to the poetic efforts of Aeschylus, Simonides, Bacchylides, and especially Pindar, will be permanently rooted in the city's psyche.

Notes

1. Ath. 4.167d.

2. Cf. Schmid 1947 for these and other references to archaic poetry that he believes to be evidence for a specific genre of foundation poetry in the archaic period.

3. Ar. *Av.* 926–30.

4. I certainly do not mean to claim that choral poetry is the only poetic context available for colonial discourse. To judge from the fragments and testimonia that survive, elegy, catalogue, and genealogical poetry seem to have included colonial themes as well. However, the colonial poetry that survives at length from the archaic period appears in choral contexts, and this chapter suggests that the performance and civic contexts of choral poetry might explain this particular choice of genre. It is unclear what kind of poetry is meant here by κύκλια; it is most often read as a reference to the circular choruses of dithyrambic poetry; cf. Ar. *Nub.* 333. On the circular nature of the dithyramb, see Pickard-Cambridge 1962 p. 32; Calame 1974 pp. 77–84.

5. Diod. 11.66.4. See also Strab. 6.2.3.

6. Diod. 11.67.4.

7. Aelian *Varia Historia* 4.15; he names Pindar, Bacchylides, and Simonides among the poets invited to educate Hieron. Cf. Pind. *Ol.* 1.13–16 for musical culture at Hieron's court.

8. This particular colonial tradition comes from Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae*, and we will look more closely at the play itself later in the chapter. The scene is represented in monumental sculpture as well. For reproductions and discussion, see Kossatz-Deissmann 1978.

9. Kossatz-Deissmann 1978 p. 36 = K 10.

10. The altar is perhaps that of the Palici; cf. Kossatz-Deissmann 1978 p. 39. An Apulian amphora (K9; p. 34) that portrays roughly the same scene is remarkable for its exuberant portrayal of local flora.

11. For the erotic connotations of this scene, see Kossatz-Deissmann 1978 pp. 38–39.

12. Cf. Carroll 1989; she discusses visual representations of rape in the Renaissance within their broader political context.

13. Cf. Head 1887 pp. 114–15; Hill 1906 pp. 43–45.

14. Finley 1968 p. 37; Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977 pp. 56–58. Cf. Martin 1985 for a study of coinage and sovereignty in the classical period. He challenges the assumption that coins are primarily symbols and reasserts the economic motives behind their use. It is not clear whether this correction holds true for the archaic period as well, but even if so, the economic function of coins does not necessarily preclude their symbolic value.

15. For the presence of beetle on Aetna, see Ar. *Pax* 73 and scholia; for pine trees, cf. Diod. 14.42–44; Pind. *Pyth.* 1.53; for the vines, cf. Strab. 6.2.3.

16. Diod. 13.82.

17. Crotty 1982 pp. 104–38; Slater 1984 pp. 244–47 and bibliography in note 1; Kurke 1993.

18. Vita 9 = *TrGF* vol. 3, ed. Radt (p. 34): ἐλθὼν (sc. Aeschylus) τοίνυν εἰς Σικελίαν Ἱέρωνος τότε τὴν Αἴτνην κτίζοντος ἐπεδείξατο τὰς Αἴτνας οἰωνιζόμενος βίον ἀγαθὸν τοῖς συνοικίζουσι τὴν πόλιν.

19. For a discussion of this and other etymologies in Aeschylus, see Kranz 1933 pp. 287–89. On Aeschylus' "Sicilian" connection, see Stanford 1937–38; Cataudella 1963; Herington 1967. For a more skeptical view of our ability to judge the Sicilian influence on Aeschylus' language, see Griffith 1978.

20. Servius, in his commentary on *Aen.* 9.581 (pp. 127–28 Radt), tells a similar story of the birth and subsequent naming of the twin gods, but in his account, the nymph is called Aetna. Stephanus of Byzantium 496.7 Meineke (F 7 Radt) explains that Aetna is the daughter of Hephaestus. He traces this genealogy to Aeschylus and this play; he also notes that Silenus, in his *Sicelica*, makes Aetna the daughter of an Oceanid and Hephaestus.

21. Diod. 11.89. Cf. Polemon at Macrob. *Saturn.* 5.19.26: οἱ δὲ Παλικοὶ προσαγορευόμενοι παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις αὐτόχθονες θεοὶ νομίζονται. For general discussions of the Palici sanctuary and its religious functions, see Freeman 1891 vol. 1 pp. 166–69; 517–30; Croon 1952. For an extremely comprehensive discussion of all aspects of the Palici, see Ziegler *RE* s.v. Palikoi, cols. 100–123.

22. Diod. 11.89.5. Cf. Macrob. *Saturn.* 5.19.20–21 and Polemon at Macrob. 5.19.28–30.

23. Slave asylum: Diod. 11.89.6–8. Oracle: Macrob. *Saturn.* 5.19.30.

24. Slave rebellion: Diod. 36.3.3 and 7.1; Ducetius: Diod. 11.88.6.

25. Diod. 11.88.6. Archeological evidence confirms the ancient testimonia that an important Sicel cult of the twin gods, the Palici, was located in the region of Palagonia in central Sicily. Cf. Gentili 1962 p. 14; Pelagatti 1966 pp. 106–7; Messina 1976 pp. 666–67.

26. Croon 1952 p. 119 has dismissed this etymology as "merely an aetiological story to explain the name Palici which they [the Greeks] derived wrongly 'ἀπὸ τοῦ πάλιν ἱκέσθαι.'" It is precisely for this reason, however—*because* it is an aetiological etymology—that the Aeschylus fragment makes sense. Placed within the larger context of colonial representation, this etymology shows how the Greeks constructed the reality of overseas colonization for themselves.

27. Moreover, as Ziegler points out *RE* col. 118, "Deutlich ist die ganze Geschichte aus der Etymologie 'die Wiederkommenden' herausgesponnen."

28. Cf. Pindar *Ol.* 7 where the foundation of Rhodes is described as the sexual union of Helius and the local nymph, Rhodes.

29. A papyrus fragment recording the hypothesis of the play reveals this surprising fact. Cf. *P. Oxy.* 2257 Fr. 1 = p. 127 Radt.

30. For this interpretation, see La Rosa 1974 pp. 151–63. See also Giangiulo 1983 pp. 820–33.

31. As C. J. Herington (1990) suggested in a paper entitled "The Syracusan Patronage of Drama in the Early Fifth Century B.C."

32. Hawkes 1973 p. 1. Cf. Redfield 1990 p. 318: "Everywhere the theater is the most

social of the arts, since it not only concretely represents social action but is itself in performance a social event."

33. Cf. Plato *Symp.* 175 e. Important civic celebrations took place as well at the festivals at which tragedies were performed: the exhibition of tribute from Athens' allies, the parade of war orphans raised at public expense. See Goldhill 1990; Longo 1990.

34. For more detailed and substantive discussions of the nature of Greek tragedy along these lines, see the essays collected in Winkler and Zeitlin 1990 (especially Longo, Zeitlin, Winkler, Goldhill, Redfield); Vernant and Vidal-Naquet 1981. The fact that the *Aetnaeae* was performed in Syracuse, not Athens, does not affect the civic nature of its performance. Lloyd-Jones 1983 pp. 99–103 has suggested that another Aeschylean fragment (in which Dike appears in person) may also belong to the *Aetnaeae*, and in this fragment Dike addresses the chorus, which "seems to consist of citizens of a city to which she has been sent." Thus the civic nature of tragedy and the integral role of the chorus in exploring its civic identiy would seem to be very much at work in Syracuse too.

35. Hawkes 1973 p. 211.

36. In concluding his discussion, Hawkes (1973 p. 212) inverts his own metaphor: "Similarly, the dramatist is metaphorically a colonist. His art penetrates new areas of experience, his language expands the boundaries of our culture, and makes the new territory over in its own image. His 'raids on the inarticulate' open up new worlds for the imagination."

37. Longo 1990 p. 17: "The dramatic contest remained an involving performance, functioning solely in the presence of and by virtue of the civic corporation, and unthinkable outside that place and that time."

38. Cf. Podlecki 1979 for arguments against Simonides' presence at Hieron's court. He does not, however, discuss this fragment. See also Huxley 1978.

39. F. 552 *PMG*.

40. I think it is also likely that Simonides' treatment of the foundation of Aetna took the form of choral poetry as well, but of course, given the nature of the fragment, it is impossible to know for sure.

41. Cf. Cyrene in Pind. *Pyth.* 9, an eponymous nymph who is similarly related to Ocean and Earth.

42. Hephaestus' forge at Aetna: Aesch. *Prom.* 368–69. Cf. Callim. *Hymn to Artemis* 47–61; *Aen.* 8.416–23.

43. Pind. *Nem.* 1.12–18. Cf. scholia at line 17: δοκεῖ δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Ζεὺς εἰς τὸν γάμον Πλούτωνος τοῖς ἀνακαλυπτηρίοις τῇ Φερσεφόνῃ δωρήσασθαι.

44. Hdt. 8.55; notice the verbal similarities with the Simonides: λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρης μαρτύρια θέσθαι.

45. Apollod. 3.14.1. Cf. Plut. *Themist.* 19; Paus. 1.24.5; 1.26.5. According to Pausanias (2.22.4; 2.15.5), Poseidon competed unsuccessfully with Hera as well for possession of Argos.

46. Pindar, in *Nemean* 1, alludes to yet another narrative plot—that of land given as a wedding present. Cf. *Pythian* 9 for this same plot.

47. Burton 1962 p. 91. Bacchylides also composed an ode celebrating this same victory, Bacchylides *Ode* 4, but this poem is very short and seems from the specific allusions to Delphic landscape to have been performed at Delphi. Bacchylides refers to Hieron of Syracuse, not Aetna, and this poem does not contain any references to Hieron's status as colonial founder. The absence of any reference to Aetna may be explained by its performance at Delphi instead of in Sicily where the chorus would reflect the city's citizenship.

48. Cf. Kurke 1991 p. 46: "Hieron's proclamation of his newly founded city at the site of the games, like a favoring breeze when one sails out, augurs a better return for the city's voyage into the future."

49. The eagle immediately brings to mind the bird with similarly furled feathers perched upon the pine tree emblazoned on the coinage of Aetna.

50. Burton 1962 p. 98 notes the ring composition here.

51. See Vernant 1982 pp. 108–10 about the significance of Zeus' battle with the Titans and the Typhon. "Every victory of Zeus is a creation of the world. The tale of the battle that pits the two rival generations of Titans and Olympians against each other explicitly evokes the return of the universe to an original state of inchoate disorder. . . . Zeus' victory puts everything back in order." See also Trumpf 1958 pp. 129–57 on this poem in particular for a discussion of how the founding of a Greek city imitates, on some level, the original cosmic foundation.

52. Hes. *Theog.* 820–85. It has been suggested that Pindar's treatment of the Typhon episode here is modelled on a pre-Hesiodic source that may have provided the poet (and Aeschylus as well) with the geographical details. Cf. Von Mess 1901; Burton 1962 p. 98.

53. Cf. Slater 1984 pp. 257–58. The poem includes other recent historical events that fit into this paradigm of Greek order defeating barbarian chaos (71–80); most significant perhaps is the victory over the Carthaginians by Hieron's brother Gelon and Theron at Himera in 480. The fact that this battle in Sicily was syncretized with the Greek defeat of the Persians at Marathon in the same year shows how powerful this paradigm is in structuring Greek thought.

54. Cf. Kirsten 1941. He argues that Pindar ties Hieron's foundation of Aetna into the larger sphere of Spartan political history.

55. See Quincey 1963 for this pun and for a discussion of the terms used to identify etymological wordplay.

56. As Leslie Kurke pointed out to me, it is interesting to note the different orientations of these two bilingual puns in light of their generic contexts: tragedy looks backward, epinician forward.

57. See, for example, Pind. *Isthm.* 5.34–42; *Isthm.* 7.1–3.

58. We remember from Diodorus that an important part of Hieron's motivation to colonize Aetna was to be celebrated with a founder's cult, and from our brief review of the poetry that celebrates that foundation, it appears that Hieron's wish was realized.

59. Pindar uses the colonization legend of Cyrene as the primary myth of three Pythian odes, and the founding of Rhodes occupies the central myth of *Olympian* 7. Still other poems include references to various colonial traditions within a larger mythological framework. Bacchylides also makes use of colonial legends; cf. Ode 11, discussed in Chapter 6.

60. Not all scholars believe that epinician poetry was performed by a chorus. See, for example, Heath 1988; Lefkowitz 1991 pp. 191–201; Heath and Lefkowitz 1991; counterarguments include Burnett 1989; Carey 1989; 1991. It is the communal function of the chorus and its suitability for staging colonial ideology that I am primarily interested in here, and it is worth noting that even those who argue against choral performance of the odes believe that the community participates in other parts of the victory ceremony. See, for example, Lefkowitz 1991 p. 205.

61. Burnett 1988 p. 141: "These verities would be at their most plangent when cast into the choral form and sung by many voices from the citizenry, and their consolation would be at its most effective, since a myth danced out in public could be ingested at once by an entire community. Instructed by such means in the sacredness of customs peculiar to itself, the city gained direct experience of its separate unity, even as its festival was infused with the common Hellenic mythology." Cf. Mullen 1982 p. 55 who characterizes the performance context of the victory ode, song *and* dance, as a public gathering intended to visibly reaffirm civic identity. Pausanias (3.11.9) tells us that the Spartans called the innermost section of their civic space a χόρος; cf. Calame 1977 p. 277; Nagy 1990a p. 345.

62. For discussions of the different poetic genres and their performance contexts, see Herington 1985 pp. 3–40; Gentili 1988 pp. 32–49; Nagy 1990a.

63. For further discussion of the pedagogic function of archaic poetry, see Calame 1977 pp. 385–420; Gentili 1988 p. 24; Mullen 1982 pp. 46–89. Herington 1985 pp. 183–85 collects the ancient evidence for the poet as *didaskalos*. Calame suggests (1977 pp. 70–74) that the corporate identity of a chorus is reflected in the tendency to refer to them by a group noun—the Danaids, the Nereids—which emphasizes their communal family and geographical origins.

64. Calame 1977 p. 385: "On retrouve donc, dans le choeur lyrique lacédémonien, des représentants de l'ensemble du corps social dirigeant la cité."

65. In the *Laws* 799 a–b; 828 a–c, Plato explains that in establishing the festivals and religious ceremonies for a new state, choruses will be chosen to reflect the geographical division of the city. Cf. Burnett 1985 pp. 50 and 175 n. 6 for passages where the epinician poet equates the chorus and the city. Cf. Pickard-Cambridge 1962 pp. 35–37 on the dithyrambic competition in the Dionysia at Athens: each chorus is drawn entirely from one of the ten tribes; there are five choruses of men and boys so all ten tribes compete. The chorus leaders, or choregoi, were chosen by tribal officials, and the victory was primarily that of the tribe. Cf. Dem. *Meid.* 5–6. See also Nagy 1990a pp. 364–68. He argues that civic divisions are reproduced and acted out in the process of establishing and constituting choral performance. "In sum, the ritual essence of the choral lyric performance is that it is *constitutive* of society in the very process of *dividing* it" (p. 367)

66. For example, Pind. *Ol.* 5.1–8; *Ol.* 7.93–4; *Pyth.* 9.73–5; *Pyth.* 12.1–6; *Nem.* 2.24–25.

67. Kurke 1993.

68. Cf. Kurke 1993 on the poetic and inscriptional evidence for the victory announcement.

69. For the parody, see Ar. *Av.* 926–945. Cf. the scholia to Pind. *Pyth.* 2.127: τὸν ἐπίνικον ἐπὶ μισθῷ συντάξας ὁ Πίνδαρος ἐκ περιττοῦ συνέπεμψεν αὐτῷ προῖκα ὑπόρχημα, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· σύνες - ἐπώνυμε. Cf. also the scholia to Pind. *Nem.* 7.1; Strab. 6.2.3. For a brief discussion of this fragment, see Lübbert 1886. Again, the genre is choral; although little is known about the hyporcheme, it seems to have included both song and dance. Cf. Webster 1970 p. 95; Di Marco 1973–74; Mullen 1982 pp. 13–17; Herington 1985 p. 188; Gentili 1988 p. 24; Nagy 1990a pp. 351–53.

70. Hdt. 4.46.

71. Cf. Hdt. 4.71. First they carry the king's corpse around to all their subject nations, and then bury him in the land of the Gerrhi who live furthest of those whom they rule. The average Scythian is not buried either; his nearest relatives carry him around in their wagons (4.73). For the hidden graves of Scythian kings, see Hdt. 4.127. For the Scythians as "other," the paradigmatic opposite of the Greeks in Herodotus' text, see Hartog 1988 pp. 3–206. On pp. 134–41, Hartog suggests that Herodotus contrasts the Greek (central) burial of its heroes with a Scythian inversion of that practice along the same lines that I am suggesting for this Pindar fragment. On pp. 193–94, he refers to this Pindaric hyporcheme and its Aristophanic parody.

6

Pythian 5: Colonial Founders and Athletic Victors

μάκαρ μὲν ἀνδρῶν μέτα
ἔναιεν, ἥρως δ' ἔπειτα λαοσεβής.

Blessed, on the one hand, he lived among men, and then he was a hero honored by the people. (Pind. *Pyth.* 5. 94–95)

Epinician poetry is a publicly performed celebration of athletic victory. Whether sung at the games themselves or upon the athlete's return home, the victory ode plays an important role in the celebrations that unite both athlete and city in praise. Athletes who compete successfully in the Panhellenic games return home covered with glory and ready to share their fame with their city. In victory, the athlete, like other heroic figures, temporarily steps outside the bounds of conventional experience and thus must be reincorporated into his civic community. In this context, the victory song both celebrates the victor as he is welcomed home and orchestrates his reintegration. Pindar's immediate task, working within the epinician tradition, is to praise a victorious athlete together with his city, and colonial tales—their story patterns and metaphors—adapt easily and fruitfully to the epinican program. Pindar uses colonial discourse to weave the victor's recent athletic exploits into the larger fabric of his city's civic identity and cultural memory.

In *Pythian* 1, as we have seen, Hieron plays the double role of city founder and athletic victor, and this coincidence highlights the structural similarities between colonization and victory that Pindar explores further in odes which incorporate colonial legends in greater detail. Both founder and victor must take risks and expend effort to be successful in their endeavors; as a result, Pindar describes the colony or victory that each gains in the end as a reward, or compensation, for his efforts. Each must leave home and travel to be successful; each gains fame from excelling or being first. And finally, both the oikist and the victor receive immortal honors from their respective cities. The oikist is celebrated with the cult of the founder, and the victor enjoys the immortal fame of Pindar's song. This analogy of city founder and athletic victor lies at the heart of several other epinician odes as well, and a close reading of *Pythian* 5 will begin to demonstrate how the conventions of colonial discourse operate in larger poetic contexts.

Pythian 5 celebrates the victory of Arcesilaus, king of Cyrene, in the chariot race at the Pythian games of 462 B.C.E. with his brother-in-law, Carrhotus, son of Alexibias, as the charioteer. The ode takes as its primary theme the foundation of Cyrene by Battus from Thera, and it will be helpful to begin with a brief overview of the themes and structure of the poem.[1] Pindar opens with praise of "great strong wealth"; when it comes from a god and is combined with a man's own excellence, it carries many a friendly companion with it. Pindar then refers obliquely to the chariot victory itself by mentioning the good weather that the equestrian Castor has shed upon Arcesilaus' family hearth (1–11).

In the antistrophe, Pindar praises Arcesilaus first as king and then as Pythian victor. He reminds Arcesilaus that he owes all his good fortune to Apollo and that he should cherish Carrhotus, his charioteer, most of all his companions, for he brought home Victory instead of Excuse, the daughter of Epimetheus (12–29). Carrhotus was hosted at the Castalian springs and crowns the victor with his success. Pindar opens the second triad with a detailed description of the chariot which Carrhotus dedicated to Apollo after his victory and which hangs in the temple at Delphi (34–42). The charioteer will receive from Pindar this song in compensation for his heroic efforts—amid forty chariots, Carrhotus brought his across the finish line unscathed.

Mention of the charioteer's toil in competition leads Pindar to mention Battus, "a tower of the city and a most shining beacon to strangers," for no one is without toil. Pindar alludes briefly to the account of Battus and the founding of Cyrene. With Apollo Archegetes' help, Battus scared away deep-thundering lions with the sound of his voice (55–62). Pindar opens the third triad with a celebration of Apollo's other gifts to mankind—medicine, song, prophecy. Through his oracular center at Delphi, Apollo settled the offspring of Heracles at Argos, Pylos, and Sparta. Mention of Sparta causes Pindar to recall that the founders of Cyrene were originally Dorian; the Aegeidae left Sparta for Thera and finally settled Cyrene (63–76).

Pindar then sings of the great Dorian festival of Apollo Carneius and connects it variously to the Dorian invasion, to a cult of the sons of Antenor (exiles from Troy), and to the founding of Cyrene (77–88). Next follows a list of Battus' accomplishments as founder and mention of his ultimate reward: heroic honors and a burial at the edge of the agora. Pindar offers his song to Arcesilaus' ancestors as a funeral offering to all the dead kings of Cyrene. He then reminds Arcesilaus that he receives this song in compensation for the expense of victory (89–107). A brief section praising the skills of Arcesilaus follows together with a conventional closing prayer to Zeus for additional victories, especially one at Olympia (108–24).

The primary narrative section of *Pythian* 5 appears almost exactly in the middle of the ode. Pindar gives us a telescoped account of Battus and the foundation of Cyrene:

> κεῖνόν γε καὶ βαρύκομποι
> λέοντες περὶ δείματι φύγον,
> γλῶσσαν ἐπεί σφιν ἀπένεικεν ὑπερποντίαν·
> ὁ δ' ἀρχαγέτας ἔδωκ' Ἀπόλλων
> θῆρας αἰνῷ φόβῳ.

ὄφρα μὴ ταμίᾳ Κυρά-
νας ἀτελὴς γένοιτο μαντεύμασιν.

That man even deep-roaring lions fled from in terror when he brought forth for them his voice from across the sea. Apollo Archegetes gave the beasts this terrible fear so that his plans, through oracles, for the steward of Cyrene would not be unfulfilled. (57–61)

In this brief and cryptic passage, Pindar alludes to Battus' founding of Cyrene; it is a story familiar to us from Herodotus, but the epinician poet adds some new and significant details. We know from Herodotus that Battus consulted Delphic Apollo about his stuttering voice, and in response, Apollo advised him to found a colony in Cyrene.[2] While this Delphic consultation hovers beneath the surface in this passage as well, prominently placed is an element not found in Herodotus' account, deep-roaring lions. Lions—their defeat certainly symbolic of the larger domination of Cyrene's indigenous occupants—appear in Pindar's *Pythian* 9 version of Cyrene's colonization as well, and Pausanias records a Cyrenean folk story in which Battus, walking in the deserted outskirts of Cyrene, met a lion and in terror cried out so violently that he never stammered anymore.[3] In this poem, however, Battus scares away lions with his "voice from across the sea," and Pindar conflates Apollo's colonization oracle which Battus would have brought with him across the sea with the stutter which Herodotus tells us he consulted Apollo at Delphi to cure.[4] The use of γλῶσσαν certainly suggests the phonetic difficulty that caused Battus to consult the Delphic oracle. Yet the colonial context of the passage as well as the subsequent mention of Apollo and oracles undeniably prepares the audience to expect an allusion to the Delphic oracle that dictated the expedition. It is, after all, in his role as Archegetes that Apollo helps Battus put the lions to flight, and as Archegetes, Apollo traditionally oversees colonial activity through his oracle at Delphi.[5] A third, and equally important, dimension to the overseas voice is the foreign sound of the language that Battus speaks, foreign at least to the ears of the local Libyan lions.[6] Such an allusion, a nice twist on the more familiar formulation whereby every language not Greek is foreign or barbarian, privileges the Greek language in its triumph over local fauna.[7] All three possible referents for the overseas voice—Battus' stutter, Apollo's oracle, the Greek language—combine to sanction the Greek rights to the Libyan land.

Both Battus and Arcesilaus are central figures in Cyrenean civic life, the former as founder and king, the latter as victor and king, and Pindar elaborates upon the similarities between victor and founding hero throughout *Pythian* 5. In the opening section, for example, Pindar praises Arcesilaus as a king—an admirable privilege that belongs to his family:

σοφοὶ δέ τοι κάλλιον
φέροντι καὶ τὰν θεόσδοτον δύναμιν.
σὲ δ' ἐρχόμενον ἐν δίκᾳ πολὺς ὄλβος ἀμφινέμεται·
τὸ μέν, ὅτι βασιλεύς
ἐσσί· μεγαλᾶν πολίων
ἔχει συγγενής

ὀφθαλμὸς αἰδοιότατον γέρας
τεᾷ τοῦτο μειγνύμενον φρενί·

Wise men, you know, bear even god-given power better, and much prosperity surrounds you as you go with justice. And, on the one hand, this is because you are king; the inherited power [eye] of great cities holds this most awe-inspiring honor, mixed with your intelligence. (12–19)

When Pindar addresses Arcesilaus as a king wielding his family's right to rule, he obliquely alludes to the tradition that explains the name of Cyrene's founder, "Battus," as the Libyan word for king. In concluding the Theraeans' account of the foundation of Cyrene, Herodotus tells us that Battus' name has two possible derivations:

In time a son was born, who lisped and stammered, and this child—according, at any rate, to what the Theraeans and the Cyreneans say—was given the name Battus. My own view, however, is different. I think his name was changed after he arrived in Libya, where he assumed the name as a result of the oracle given at Delphi and of the high position he held there—for the Libyans call a king "battus," and that, I think, is why the Priestess at Delphi, when she spoke the prophecy, addressed him in the Libyan language, knowing, as she did, that he was to become a king in Libya. For after he had grown to manhood he went to Delphi to consult the oracle about his voice and the Pythia gave him the following response: "O Battus, you have come on account of a voice, but the lord Apollo sends you to sheep-nourishing Libya to build a city," just as if she said *in Greek*, "O King, you have come on account of your voice." (4.155)

Herodotus challenges the customary, Greek etymology of "Battus" from βατταρίζω, "to stutter," by suggesting a foreign translation for the proper name. Although there appears to be no real linguistic evidence for a Libyan derivation for "Battus," nevertheless, the Greeks, as shown by Herodotus and Pindar, clearly believed in the "retro-motivated" folk etymology of Battus as Libyan for king.[8]

Pythian 4, which Pindar composed for the same victory that *Pythian* 5 commemorates, also embeds the foundation of Cyrene within its epinician program, and in this poem as well, Pindar alludes to the Libyan translation of "Battus" as "king." The context is the same as in Herodotus' account: Battus has consulted Apollo about his stuttering voice, and in *Pythian* 4, Medea reports the words of Apollo to the future king:

ὦ μάκαρ υἱὲ Πολυμνάστου, σὲ δ' ἐν τούτῳ λόγῳ
χρησμὸς ὤρθωσεν μελίσσας
Δελφίδος αὐτομάτῳ κελάδῳ·
ἃ σε χαίρειν ἑστρὶς αὐδάσαισα πεπρωμένον
βασιλέ' ἄμφανεν Κυράνᾳ,
δυσθρόου φωνᾶς ἀνακρινόμενον ποι-
νὰ τίς ἔσται πρὸς θεῶν.

O blessed son of Polymnestus, in this speech, the oracle from the Delphic priestess with an automatic response has set you straight. Three times she hailed you and revealed that it is fated for you to be king at

> Cyrene, [you] who asked what would be the recompense from the gods for your defective voice. (59–63)

Pindar, in fact, provides the very Greek translation that Herodotus suggests for the Delphic oracle. "Battus, you have come on account of your voice" becomes "you will become king (βασιλέ') on account of (as compensation for) your voice." In *Pythian* 4, Pindar intertwines both traditions recorded by Herodotus. "Battus" is both the Greek name of the stutterer who consulted the oracle about his speech defect and the Libyan term for king. Just as in *Pythian* 1, here, too, Pindar uses a bilingual pun associated with a colonial tradition as part of his praise of the victor. An important strategy of any colonization legend is to legitimate the act of settlement, and according to the bilingual wordplay associated with the Delphic oracle, only Battus, the stutterer, could become Battus, the founding king of the Libyan land of Cyrene. This divinely chosen founder then lends his prominent civic status to Pindar's project of praising the founder's descendant and king, Arcesilaus.

To return to *Pythian* 5, Pindar first invokes the quality of kingliness as a common bond between Arcesilaus and Battus. Battus, the founder, was the original king of Cyrene, and so now, too, is Arcesilaus, his descendant. Pindar's appeal to Arcesilaus as king is immediately followed by an image that will also link Arcesilaus with Battus. Arcesilaus' most revered honor, one he has claimed as his own, is this συγγενὴς ὀφθαλμός; he is the focal point, the eye, of the city, an inherited source of guidance. This opthamological image looks ahead to Pindar's introduction of Battus as a shining eye (ὄμμα τε φαεννότατον):

> ὁ Βάττου δ' ἕπεται παλαι-
> ὸς ὄλβος ἔμπαν τὰ καὶ τὰ νέμων,
> πύργος ἄστεος ὄμμα τε φαεννότατον
> ξένοισι.
>
> The ancient prosperity of Battus follows, governing all equally, a tower of the city and a shining beacon to strangers. (55–57)

Moreover, in addition to sharing the family honor of being king with Battus, Arcesilaus, like the founder, has a strong link with Delphic Apollo. He is blessed now because he has won at the Pythian games, the delight of Apollo:

> μάκαρ δὲ καὶ νῦν, κλεεννᾶς ὅτι
> εὖχος ἤδη παρὰ Πυθιάδος ἵπποις ἐλών
> δέδεξαι τόνδε κῶμον ἀνέρων,
> Ἀπολλώνιον ἄθυρμα· τῶ σε μὴ λαθέτω,
> Κυράνᾳ γλυκὺν ἀμφὶ κᾶ-
> πον Ἀφροδίτας ἀειδόμενον,
> παντὶ μὲν θεὸν αἴτιον ὑπερτιθέμεν, . . .
>
> And you are blessed also now, because you have captured the victory boast with the horses at Pytho and you have received this celebration of men, a delight of Apollo. And so do not forget, as you are being hymned in Cyrene, in the sweet garden of Aphrodite, to acknowledge the god as chiefly responsible for everything, . . . (20–25)

Arcesilaus can boast victory in the chariot race at Delphi, and he receives a victory celebration as a result. At this point Pindar warns Arcesilaus not to forget that Apollo is responsible for all his success. Pindar praises Arcesilaus first for being king (like Battus, who founded the city of Cyrene) and second for being victorious in the Pythian games. Both these accomplishments, a city foundation and a Pythian victory, are intimately connected with Delphic Apollo. Apollo, as Pindar points out, is the leader of colonies, and the Pythian games are held in his honor at Delphi. To return again briefly to *Pythian* 4, Pindar uses this Delphic connection—the coincidence of Apollo as colonization deity and as divine sponsor of the Pythian games—as a point of transition to the myth from the victory occasion and back again. The poem opens with a mention of Delphi as the site of both the chariot victory of Arcesilaus and of the oracle that prompted Battus to found Cyrene:

> Σάμερον μὲν χρή σε παρ' ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ
> στᾶμεν, εὐίππου βασιλῆι Κυράνας,
> ὄφρα κωμάζοντι σὺν Ἀρκεσίλᾳ,
> Μοῖσα, Λατοίδαισιν ὀφειλόμενον Πυ-
> θῶνί τ' αὔξῃς οὖρον ὕμνων,
> ἔνθα ποτὲ χρυσέων Διὸς αἰετῶν πάρεδρος
> οὐκ ἀποδάμου Ἀπόλλωνος τυχόντος ἱέρεα
> χρῆσεν οἰκιστῆρα Βάττον
> καρποφόρου Λιβύας, ἱεράν
> νᾶσον ὡς ἤδη λιπὼν κτίσσειεν εὐάρματον
> πόλιν ἐν ἀργεννόεντι μαστῷ, . . .
>
> *Today* you must stand beside a dear man, the king of Cyrene of good horses, so that, Muse, celebrating together with Arcesilaus, you can increase the breath of songs which is owed to the children of Leto and to Pytho *where once* with Apollo present, the priestess, seated beside the golden eagles of Zeus, prophesied that Battus would be the founder of fruit-bearing Libya, that leaving the holy island, he would found a well-charioted city on a gleaming white hill, . . . (1–8)

Pindar calls our attention to the elements of time and place; first, the ode opens with the necessity of praising the victor "today." Second, he is victorious at that place where, once upon a time, the priestess told Battus to found the new city. In spite of the passage of time and a new set of circumstances, Delphi, the oracular seat of Apollo, is the common ground shared by both victor and founder, and therefore it provides Pindar, as poet, with a smooth transition from the victory to the myth. Pindar draws on this same convergence of circumstances in *Pythian* 5 as well. Arcesilaus must remember that Apollo is the chief reason, or *aition*, for his success. The legendary account of Battus as founding hero of Cyrene becomes more relevant to the praise of a Delphic chariot victor for this reason, and so Pindar warns Arcesilaus not to forget that Apollo is the source of all his prosperity.

Another way in which Pindar compares Arcesilaus to Battus is through the convention, common in the odes, of describing fame and victory as the reward or compensation that an athlete receives in return for the toil and effort of competition.[9] In

Nemean 7, for example, Pindar explains that great strength is hidden in darkness if it goes uncelebrated by song:

> ταὶ μεγάλαι γὰρ ἀλκαί
> σκότον πολὺν ὕμνων ἔχοντι δεόμεναι·
> ἔργοις δὲ καλοῖς ἔσοπτρον ἴσαμεν ἑνὶ σὺν τρόπῳ,
> εἰ Μναμοσύνας ἔκατι λιπαράμπυκος
> εὕρηται ἄποινα μόχθων κλυταῖς ἐπέων ἀοιδαῖς.
>
> For great feats of strength that lack song find much darkness, and in the case of beautiful deeds, we know the mirror [to reflect] in just one way: if thanks to Mnemosyne of the bright fillet, he finds a reward for his toils through the glorious songs of poetry. (12–16)[10]

Here the mirror imagery underscores the reciprocity between the ordeal of Panhellenic competition and the glorious fame that comes as the reward for such effort. In *Pythian* 5, Pindar first applies this motif not directly to the victor, Arcesilaus, but to Carrhotus, the charioteer. Pindar makes it clear that Arcesilaus himself did not compete in the chariot race; he sponsored the entry, and Carrhotus, his brother-in-law, actually drove the chariot.[11] It is not unprecedented for Pindar to praise charioteers independent of the victor, and the extended celebration of Carrhotus here may be due to the particular circumstances of the occasion. Carrhotus' victory was so spectacular—he made it through all twelve turns of the course with chariot unharmed—that he dedicated the chariot to the god at Delphi. The dedication of a whole chariot is certainly a conspicuous offering to the god, an extravagant gesture that reflects the extraordinary nature of the victory. After describing the dedication, Pindar returns again to the charioteer who made such a gesture possible. Like Arcesilaus, Carrhotus is blessed, and he receives a memorial of glorious words in return for his efforts:

> ἑκόντι τοίνυν πρέπει
> νόῳ τὸν εὐεργέταν ὑπαντιάσαι.
> Ἀλεξιβιάδα, σὲ δ' ἡΰκομοι φιέγοντι Χάριτες.
> μακάριος, ὃς ἔχεις
> καὶ πεδὰ μέγαν κάματον
> λόγων φερτάτων
> μναμήϊ·
>
> And so it is fitting that you meet your benefactor with a willing mind. Alexibiades [Carrhotus], the fair-haired Graces illuminate you. Blessed are you who have, after great toil, a memorial of strong words. (43–49)[12]

Because of the unique nature of the chariot race, Pindar splits his praise between Arcesilaus, the victor, and Carrhotus, the chariot driver. Since Carrhotus expended the physical effort in driving the chariot, Pindar understandably attributes the actual toil of victory to him. Later, however, he praises Arcesilaus himself in a similar manner for his monetary expenditures:

τὸν ἐν ἀοιδᾷ νέων
πρέπει χρυσάορα Φοῖβον ἀπύειν,
ἔχοντα Πυθωνόθεν
τὸ καλλίνικον λυτήριον δαπανᾶν
μέλος χαρίεν.

He [Arcesilaus] should call upon Phoebus of the golden bow in a song of young men since he has from Pytho the recompense, beautiful in victory, of expense, the pleasing song. (103–7)

Again exhorting Arcesilaus to acknowledge Apollo as the source of his good fortune, Pindar returns to the image of the victory song as the proper recompense for competition. Here, as is fitting in an address to the wealthy Arcesilaus, the victory song comes in exchange for the expense, rather than the physical toil, of competing.[13]

Pindar then uses this conventional motif of victory as reward for toil as the point of transition from the "here and now," his praise of the victor and his charioteer at the Pythian games, to the glorious past, his account of Battus and the colonization of Cyrene. Not unlike the athlete, the founder receives his colony as a reward for his risk and trouble. In the *Pythian* 4 passage quoted above, Battus receives the colony and kingship of Cyrene as compensation for his defective voice (δυσθρόου φωνᾶς ... ποινά, 63).[14] In *Pythian* 5, in the section that follows his acknowledgment of Carrhotus' efforts, Pindar introduces a gnomic remark: no one is nor will ever be without an allotment of trouble (πόνων δ' οὔ τις ἀπόκλαρός ἐστιν οὔτ' ἔσεται, 54). The gnome provides the transition from Carrhotus and Arcesilaus to the description of Battus as the tower of the city and a shining beacon to strangers (55–57). Implicit is the notion (made explicit in *Pythian* 4) that Carrhotus and Arcesilaus receive victory celebrations in return for their athletic and monetary output just as Battus, who also had his share of troubles once upon a time, received the honor of founding Cyrene in return.

After the victory at Delphi, Carrhotus returns home, and Pindar exploits yet something else that the Pythian victor and colonial founder have in common—the journey from Delphi to Cyrene. Carrhotus, standing in for Arcesilaus, has just made the victorious trip home to the plains of Libya, imitating Battus' original, founding trip from the oracle of Apollo at Delphi to the site of the new colony. By embedding Cyrene's colonial tradition into his poem in praise of Arcesilaus' Pythian victory, Pindar establishes a close bond between founder and victor. Both men are kings; each owes his fame to Apollo, and each receives honor and fame in exchange for great effort. In addition, the founder of a colony is celebrated with special civic honors after death, and Pindar extends this analogy to its logical conclusion by including the celebration of the founder's cult within his praise for Arcesilaus. Pindar first summarizes Battus' duties and rewards as city founder:

κτίσεν δ' ἄλσεα μείζονα θεῶν,
εὐθύτομόν τε κατέθηκεν Ἀπολλωνίαις
ἀλεξιμβρότοις πεδιάδα πομπαῖς
ἔμμεν ἱππόκροτον

σκυρωτὰν ὁδόν, ἔνθα πρυ-
μνοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἔπι δίχα κεῖται θανών·
μάκαρ μὲν ἀνδρῶν μέτα
ἔναιεν, ἥρως δ' ἔπειτα λαοσεβής.

He founded greater altars for the gods and established for Apollonian processions that protect mortals a straightcut level [path] to be a paved road, resounding with the pounding of horses' hooves; there, having died, he [Battus] lies apart at the edge of the agora. Blessed, on the one hand, he lived among men, and then he was a hero honored by the people. (89–95)[15]

As oikist, Battus lived a blessed life among men, and since his death, he has been honored as a hero. The cult of the founder was celebrated annually with sacrifices and athletic games; in addition, the oikist was customarily buried in the agora, in the center of the city. The Greeks normally buried their dead outside the city limits, and the exception in the case of the founder underscores the nature of his cult as a civic, not personal, event. The founder's cult is the first independent cult of a new city, one not imported from the mother city, and therefore it is symbolic of the city's emerging self-identity.[16]

Hero cults of many kinds play a prominent role in the epinician odes. Often Pindar mentions that the games he is celebrating take place at the tomb of a hero. For example, in *Olympian* 1, the games take place at the tomb of Pelops.[17] Similarly, in *Pythian* 9, when Telesicrates wins at the games in Thebes, Pindar says that the tomb of Iolaus bears witness to his victory.[18] And as we will see in *Olympian* 7, Diagoras wins at the Tlepolomeia, local games in Rhodes that form a part of the annual celebration of the founder of Rhodes, Tlepolemus.[19] In addition, Pindar often praises a particular victor with reference to a mythological hero, thus suggesting that the victor will receive from his song a poetic version of the immortality enjoyed by the heroic figure. To this end, the poet offers his poetry to the victor as one would offer libations to the cult of a hero.[20] In *Nemean* 3, for example, Pindar offers his song to Aristocleidas of Aegina as a blend of honey and milk breathed through Aeolian flutes:

χαῖρε, φίλος· ἐγὼ τόδε τοι
πέμπω μεμιγμένον μέλι λευκῷ
σὺν γάλακτι, κιρναμένα δ' ἔερσ' ἀμφέπει,
πόμ' ἀοίδιμον Αἰολίσσιν ἐν πνοαῖσιν αὐλῶν,
ὀψέ περ.

Hail, friend. I send this poetic drink, mixed with honey and white milk, dew mixed in surrounds it, among the Aeolian breaths of flutes late indeed. (76–79)[21]

By postponing the potable noun accompanied by its poetic adjective, Pindar reinforces the identification of liquid offering and song. In *Isthmian* 6, a poem that opens with an elaborate simile comparing a song for a second victory with the second bowl of wine at a symposium, Pindar says that he intends to sprinkle the island of the Aeacidae with praise:

ὔμμε τ᾽, ὦ χρυσάρματοι Αἰακίδαι,
τέθμιόν μοι φαμὶ σαφέστατον ἔμμεν
τάνδ᾽ ἐπιστείχοντα νᾶσον ῥαινέμεν εὐλογίαις.

And you, O sons of Aeacus with golden chariots, I say as I set foot upon this island, that my most clear promise is to sprinkle it with praise. (19–21)[22]

When, as in *Pythian* 5, the particular hero cult is intimately linked to a city's identity, this important civic connection extends to the victor as well. As founding hero, Battus receives libations at his tomb; likewise, Pindar describes his song in praise of Arcesilaus as a liquid offering to his ancestors:[23]

ἄτερθε δὲ πρὸ δωμάτων ἕτεροι λαχόντες Ἀΐδαν
βασιλέες ἱεροί
ἐντί· μεγαλᾶν δ᾽ ἀρετᾶν
δρόσῳ μαλθακᾷ
ῥανθεισᾶν κώμων {θ᾽} ὑπὸ χεύμασιν,
ἀκούοντί ποι χθονίᾳ φρενί,
σφὸν ὄλβον υἱῷ τε κοινὰν χάριν
ἔνδικόν τ᾽ Ἀρκεσίλᾳ·

Apart, before the houses, are the other holy kings who have come upon their lot in Hades; they listen with an earthly mind to the great virtues sprinkled with soft dew and to songs under the streams, their prosperity and a common joy for their son, and one justly due to Arcesilaus. (96–103)

The athletic achievement of Arcesilaus is "bedewed" by the victory celebrations, that is, Pindar's poetry, in order that it be heard by his ancestors. The dead heroes of Cyrene's past drink in the songs of Arcesilaus' recent athletic success; they are refreshed by the news.[24] Once again the glory and accomplishments of Arcesilaus as victor are praised in the politically charged context of Battus' achievements as the founder of his city. Pindar uses the conventional conflation of victory song and cult offering as a transition from the celebrations of Battus the founder back to the praise of Arcesilaus. He sharply delineates the two stages of Battus' career within the bipartite μέν . . . δέ construction. He is blessed in life, and he enjoys heroic honors after death. Implicit is the connection between Battus as founding hero and Arcesilaus as victor. Like Battus, Arcesilaus, too, is blessed in life (μάκαρ, 20), and he, thanks to Pindar's victory ode, can look forward to eternal fame similar to that of a hero. We should keep in mind that the hero cult in question is not for just any hero but for the founding hero of the victor's city. These are civic celebrations; they link the victor to the very origins of his city.

In addition to recounting the founding of Cyrene as the central myth of *Pythian* 5, a narrative that allows Pindar to praise Arcesilaus by comparing him with Cyrene's colonial founder, Pindar devotes a significant portion of the ode to the celebration of Apollo Carneius. The role of the Carneian section within *Pythian* 5 and its connection to the Battus legend have not been completely understood, and for

this reason, it is worth making a brief detour here to show that it is precisely the colonial context of the poem that motivates the appearance of Apollo Carneius. Pindar tells us that Apollo is worshipped as Carneius at a festival which the settlers from Thera brought with them to Cyrene:

τὸ δ' ἐμὸν γαρύει
ἀπὸ Σπάρτας ἐπήρατον κλέος,
ὅθεν γεγενναμένοι
ἵκοντο Θήρανδε φῶτες Αἰγεΐδαι,
ἐμοὶ πατέρες, οὐ θεῶν ἄτερ, ἀλλὰ Μοῖρά τις ἄγεν·
πολύθυτον ἔρανον
ἔνθεν ἀναδεξάμενοι,
Ἄπολλον, τεᾷ,
Καρνήϊ', ἐν δαιτὶ σεβίζομεν
Κυράνας ἀγακτιμέναν πόλιν·

And it is my job to hail the beloved fame from Sparta, being descended from this place, the men, the Aegeidae, arrived at Thera, my forefathers, not without the gods, but some Fate led them. From that time, receiving a banquet full of sacrifices, we honor, Apollo Carneius, in your feast, the gloriously founded city of Cyrene. (72–81)

In this way, Pindar, the poet, allies himself with Arcesilaus, the victor, through their common worship of Apollo Carneius.[25] As Herodotus tells us, the founders of Cyrene were originally Dorians, and they brought the cult of Apollo with them to their new city. Cults and religious practices form the basic ties between new colonies and the cities of mainland Greece, and founding a colony involves finding new homes for the Greek gods. Callimachus, himself a Battiad, also traces the Carneian festival from mother city to colony in his *Hymn to Apollo*:

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Καρνεῖον· ἐμοὶ πατρώιον οὕτω.
Σπάρτη τοι, Καρνεῖε, τὸ δὴ πρώτιστον ἔδεθλον,
δεύτερον αὖ Θήρη, τρίτατόν γε μὲν ἄστυ Κυρήνης.

But I call you Carneius, for such is the way of my forefathers. Sparta, O Carneius, was your first foundation; next, Thera, and third, the city of Cyrene. (71–73)[26]

Colonization forges this common bond between the Dorians of Thebes and Cyrene, and the Dorian connection helps Pindar as a Theban poet praise the Cyrenean victor. In addition, close analysis of the context in which Pindar introduces the Carneia into *Pythian* 5—specifically his association of the festival with the foundation of Cyrene—provides valuable confirmation of the structural similarities between colonization and purification within colonial ideology. Pindar places the foundation of Cyrene among other constituent myths of the Carneia and, in so doing, suggests that they all share some ideological ground.

The festival of Carneian Apollo is the biggest and most important of all annual Dorian festivals; it gives its name to a late summer month during which war could not be waged.[27] Pausanias provides us with several charter myths for the festival,

one of which explains the connection between the cult of Apollo Carneius and the Dorian invasion: Carnus, an Acarnian by birth and a seer of Apollo, was killed by Hippotes, and as a result, the wrath of Apollo fell upon the Dorian camp, forcing Hippotes into exile in atonement for the bloodguilt. From this time on, the custom of propitiating the Acarnian seer was established among the Dorians at the Carneia. Pausanias then gives an alternative aetiology that derives the cult title of Carneius from the name of the cornel trees in the grove of Apollo in Trojan Ida. According to legend, the Greeks cut down these trees to build the infamous Trojan horse. Upon learning that Apollo was angry with them for this, they propitiated him with sacrifices and called him Apollo Carneius from the name for the cornel tree (κρανείας).[28]

The cult of Apollo Carneius is clearly an important cult and one with a very complicated history and significance for the Dorian peoples. We find resonances of Apollo Carneius as a god of pastoral and nomadic concerns; in addition, the cult has a strong martial component. But, more relevant to our discussion of the connections between the Carnian festival and the foundation of Cyrene, it becomes clear that the idea of a conquering expedition is common to both the "Carnus" and the "cornel" aetiologies for the Carneian festival. As Walter Burkert has pointed out, both myths include a reference to guilt or atonement for guilt associated with the violent appropriation of territory.[29] In one account, the Dorians appease Apollo for killing Carnus; the other story explains that the Greeks propitiate the god for cutting down his trees in order to sack Troy. Violence and atonement belong to the colonial tale as well. The act of founding a colony entails, after all, the appropriation of foreign territory; it has much in common with a military venture. In fact, the three-step plot of the Carnus myth—(1) murder, (2) pollution, (3) purification—appears, as we have seen in Chapter 2, in many colonial tales. The concerns of colonization, then, are the very ones that are also addressed within the celebration of Apollo Carneius.[30] As in the case of the Dorian invasion or the Trojan War, the violence of territorial conquest is transferred from the act of colonization itself onto the myths that represent that act and through which the violence can be safely addressed and expiated.

Pindar begins the Carneian section of *Pythian* 5 with a list of Apollo's important gifts to mankind, emphasizing his role in the Dorian settlements of Pylos, Sparta, and Argos, often characterized in myth and literature as the Dorian invasion:

> ὃ καὶ βαρειᾶν νόσων
> ἀκέσματ' ἄνδρεσσι καὶ γυναιξὶ νέμει,
> πόρεν τε κίθαριν, δίδωσί τε Μοῖσαν οἷς ἂν ἐθέλῃ,
> ἀπόλεμον ἀγαγών
> ἐς πραπίδας εὐνομίαν,
> μυχόν τ' ἀμφέπει
> μαντήϊον· τῷ {καὶ} Λακεδαίμονι
> ἐν Ἄργει τε καὶ ζαθέᾳ Πύλῳ
> ἔνασσεν ἀλκάεντας Ἡρακλέος
> ἐκγόνους Αἰγιμιοῦ τε.
>
> And he [Apollo] provides cures for heavy sicknesses for men and women, he gave them the lyre, and he gives the Muse to whomever he

> wants, leading good government without war into their breasts, and he manages a prophetic oracle. At this oracle, he settled the strong offspring of Heracles and Aegimius at Sparta, Argos, and divine Pylos. (63–72)

This passage is followed by an apostrophe to Apollo Carneius himself at whose feast the foundation of Cyrene is celebrated. Pindar then alludes obliquely to the sons of Antenor, Trojans who were said to have occupied Cyrene after fleeing their burning homeland:

> ἔχοντι τὰν χαλκοχάρμαι ξένοι
> Τρῶες Ἀντανορίδαι· σὺν Ἑλένᾳ γὰρ μόλον,
> καπνωθεῖσαν πάτραν ἐπεὶ ἴδον
> ἐν Ἄρει· τὸ δ' ἐλάσιππον ἔθνος ἐνδυκέως
> δέκονται θυσίαισιν ἄνδρες οἰχνέοντές σφε δωροφόροι,
> τοὺς Ἀριστοτέλης ἄγαγε ναυσί θοαῖς
> ἁλὸς βαθεῖαν κέλευθον ἀνοίγων.
>
> Which [Cyrene] the strangers who delight in bronze, the Trojan sons of Antenor, occupy; for they came with Helen when they saw their homeland burning up in smoke in war. And the horse-driving race receives them kindly, men approaching them with sacrifices and bearing gifts, those men whom Aristoteles brought in swift ships when he opened up a deep path across the sea. (82–88)

Pindar here describes a ritual occasion in which the horse-driving race of Cyreneans—the men Aristoteles (Battus) brought to Libya—welcome the Trojans in an annual celebration of their powerful role as local heroes.[31] As part of the Carneia, the settlers of Cyrene take part in a ritual ceremony that acknowledges their appropriation of a preexisting local cult, that of the Antenorids, within their own colonial history.[32] Pindar describes the religious ritual of bearing sacrifices to a cult of the dead in terms of welcoming guests to a feast; he represents cultural appropriation as an annual dinner invitation.

It is clear that in *Pythian* 5 Pindar wants to connect the important Dorian festival of the Carneia to the foundation of Cyrene; he says explicitly that at the Carneia, they celebrate the gloriously founded city (ἐν δαιτὶ σεβίζομεν Κυράνας ἀγακτιμέναν πόλιν, 80–81). Through the Carneian connection, Pindar represents the founding of Cyrene as a continuation of the great Dorian settlements of old; he reminds us that Apollo and the Delphic oracle also sponsored the settlements of Sparta, Pylos, and Argos. With the mention of the Antenorids, he also includes a reference to the Greek conquest of Troy within his description of the Carneia and Cyrene's foundation. Pindar thus includes within *Pythian* 5 both aetiologies for the Carneia mentioned by Pausanias, and the very structure of the Carneian section of the poem reinforces the deliberate placement of the foundation of Cyrene within the wider context of the Carneian festival.[33] Mention of the festival itself is ringed by Pindar's account of Battus as Cyrene's founder. Battus scares the lions in lines 57–62; Pindar describes the honors that Battus enjoys as founder in lines 89–95. Precisely between these two passages, Pindar alludes to three events associated with the festival of Apollo Carneius: the Dorian invasion, the foundation of Cyrene, and

the Trojan War. Of the three aetiologies, the foundation of Cyrene occupies the central spot. In recognizing the Dorian invasion, the foundation of Cyrene, and the capture of Troy as three legends associated with the cult of Apollo Carneius, and in appreciating the ideological agenda shared by all three legends, we get a clearer picture of how the Greeks characterized the act of colonization itself. Colonization is a violent act of aggression, an appropriation of foreign territory, which demands atonement. In addition, we now see that the Carneian section is not a mysterious digression within *Pythian* 5, but is in fact a critical, well-integrated component of Pindar's ode to Arcesilaus.

To return to *Pythian* 5, the ode concludes with general praise of the victor and a traditional closing wish for continued success in the future:

> ὅσαι τ' εἰσὶν ἐπιχωρίων καλῶν ἔσοδοι,
> τετόλμακε. θεός τέ οἱ
> τὸ νῦν τε πρόφρων τελεῖ δύνασιν,
> καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁμοῖα, Κρονίδαι μάκαρες,
> διδοῖτ' ἐπ' ἔργοισιν ἀμφί τε βουλαῖς
> ἔχειν, μὴ φθινοπωρὶς ἀνέμων
> χειμερία κατὰ πνοὰ δαμαλίζοι χρόνον.
> Διός τοι νόος μέγας κυβερνᾷ
> δαίμον' ἀνδρῶν φίλων.
> εὔχομαί νιν Ὀλυμπίᾳ
> τοῦτο δόμεν γέρας ἔπι Βάττου γένει.
>
> You have dared [to make] as many approaches to native excellence as there are; the benevolent god grants power to him now, and may you, blessed sons of Cronus, grant that he has the same in the future both in deeds and in plans—may no crop-withering wintry wind destroy his time. The great mind of Zeus governs the prosperity of dear men. I pray that he grant this honor at Olympia to the race of Battus. (116–24)

Through the image of the damaging, wintry wind, we come full circle from the mention of rainstorms at the beginning of the ode. Pindar begs the gods, Zeus in particular, not to dampen Arcesilaus' success and asks for an Olympian victory next. Even in this final poetic request, Pindar emphasizes the connection between Arcesilaus and Battus: the honor should go to the race of Battus.

This close reading of *Pythian* 5 uncovers several ways in which the themes of colonial discourse interact with the conventions of Pindar's epinician program. The cult of the founder, in addition to being the first independent cult in the history of a new Greek city, is valuable to poet and victor in another respect as well. As Hieron of Aetna knows full well, becoming the founder of a Greek city is one of the few ways for a mere mortal of the "here-and-now" to achieve the immortal status of a hero and to attain some of the fame accorded to the legendary mythological heroes of a city like Thebes or Aegina. Founding heroes of the archaic period, such as Battus of Cyrene or Tlepolemus of Rhodes, occupy a tantalizing middle ground between the mythological heroes of the epic cycle and recent historical figures. Pindar, through the immortal power of his song, and sometimes with specific reference to the unique situation of a city founder, makes it possible for athletes who

have been victorious in the Panhellenic games also to find their way somewhere between the historical present and the legendary past.

Notes

1. The complete text of the poem and a translation can be found in the Appendix. A detailed account of the founding of Cyrene by Battus is also told by Herodotus (4.150–58).

2. Hdt. 4.155.

3. Paus. 10.15.7.

4. The scholia say that the "voice from across the sea" is either the oracle of Apollo or that it refers to the loudness of Battus' voice as he yelled at the lions from his ship before landing. See Drachmann 1964 vol. 2 pp. 181–82. Farnell 1930 pp. 176–77 disagrees with the scholiasts' interpretation and argues that the passage implies that Battus was in real danger and so must have been on land when he met the lion, not calling across the sea from his boat. "The sentence is a strained way of saying that Battos, having come across the sea and landed, brought his voice to bear on the lions. On the surface the phrase ought to mean that the Libyan lions were scared by the outlandish sound of his Greek tongue; but one cannot suppose that Pindar was trying to be humorous here." Lefkowitz 1985 p. 43 argues for a reference to the Delphic oracle because of the accompanying verb ἀπένεικεν, which is regularly used in the context of delivering oracles. I would like to suggest that, in addition to the oracular reference, there is also a nod to the tradition which Pindar uses in *Pyth.* 4.59–63 that Battus stuttered. I will discuss this further in the final chapter in conjunction with the nymph Cyrene and her similar encounter with a lion.

5. Archegetes is Apollo's title as colonizing deity, and Pindar's use of the appellation here is the first in extant Greek literature. Cf. Farnell 1907 vol. 4 pp. 374–75. See also the inscription which contains the foundation decree of Cyrene, it refers both to Battus and to Apollo as *archegetai*: Meiggs and Lewis 1969 #5; Apollo, lines 10–11; Battus, line 26.

6. Cf. Arist. *Poet.* 1457 b for his use of γλῶττα to refer to foreign or rare words.

7. Cf. Cosi 1987 p. 131: "In ancient, just as in modern colonisation, the loud and rhetorical voice of Europe always triumphs over the lions of Africa."

8. Masson 1976 persuasively argues that the name Βάττος is Greek, derived from an adjective *βαττός, stuttering. The word occurs in a widespread Greek context, and there is no evidence for any Libyan word that would be transcribed into Greek as βάττος signifying "king." Linguistic reality, however, did not stop the popular etymology of "king." Cf. scholia to *Pyth.* 4 (Drachmann 1964 vol. 2 p. 93): Λίβυες γὰρ Βάττους τοὺς βασιλεῖς λέγουσιν; and Hesychius' gloss: Βάττος· βασιλεύς, τύραννος. Λίβυες: τραυλόφωνος, ἰσχνόφωνος.

9. See Nagy 1986 pp. 92–94, "In the inherited diction of praise poetry, what an athlete undergoes in his pursuit of victory is a *ponos* (ordeal), also called a *kamatos*, and these same words apply also to the life-and-death struggles of heroes with their enemies, man and beast alike." Nagy also explains the chain of compensation that links the hero whose death the games celebrate to the athlete and the poet: "each ordeal of each victorious athlete, compensating for the proto-ordeal of the hero who struggled and died, demands compensation of its own in the form of song offered as praise for the athlete. And the song in turn demands compensation from the victorious athlete and his family, to be offered to the composer of the song." See also Nagy 1990a pp. 136–45.

10. Cf. Pind. *Ol.* 7.16; *Pyth.* 2.14; *Isthm.* 3.7; *Isthm.* 8.4 for other examples of this motif. See Kurke 1991 pp. 108–16 for the social "community-building" function of ἄποινα as a type of epinician gift exchange.

11. It seems that prominent political figures such as Arcesilaus did not always drive their own chariots; this may have been due to tense political situations at home that made it unsafe for the kings to be away for long periods of time. Hieron, whose chariot victory is praised in *Pythian* 1, also commissioned another to drive his chariot. Thrasyboulus seems to have driven the chariot for his father, Xenocrates, in *Pyth.* 6. See Lefkowitz 1985 pp. 39–42 for further examples and for a sensible corrective to the overhistoricizing comments of Didymus about the praise of Carrhotus in this poem.

12. Pindar carefully pairs the victor and the charioteer by describing each conspicuously as blessed: μάκαρ, 20 (Arcesilaus); μακάριος, 46 (Carrhotus).

13. See Kurke 1991 pp. 110–11 for a discussion of how the nature of different events demands compensation for different types of effort.

14. Cf. Pind. *Ol.* 7.16 for a similar formulation: Tlepolemus receives the colony of Rhodes as recompense for his own personal trauma. I will return to this passage in the discussion of *Ol.* 7 in Chapter 7.

15. We have already considered this passage in Chapter 1 as part of our discussion of the cult of the founder. Keeping this important cult practice in mind, we can better appreciate how Pindar alludes to it as a way to praise Arcesilaus. Pelliccia 1989 pp. 91–92 discusses this passage in the context of aetiological syntax, which he defines (pp. 74–75) as "the juxtaposition, either through parataxis or hypotaxis, of the statement of an event in the past and the statement in the present tense of equivalent, of a perpetually true condition *vel sim.* following from it." The historical event is given in the main clause (aorist or imperfect); here Pindar lists two: Battus founded (κτίσεν) altars and built (κατέθηκεν) roads. The perpetual state following from the event is expressed in a subordinate clause in the present tense. Battus lies buried (κεῖται θανών) in the marketplace—a physical sign of his heroization—as a result of the founding activities that Pindar lists.

16. Malkin 1987a pp. 200–203.

17. Pind. *Ol.* 1.90–93; cf. *Ol.* 10.24. Gerber 1982 pp. 143–45. See Nagy 1990a pp. 116–35 for Pelops' connection to the aetiology of the Olympian games.

18. Pind. *Pyth.* 9.79–83; cf. *Ol.* 9.98–99.

19. Pind. *Ol.* 7.77. Other examples of hero cults in Pindar's odes include Alcmaeon in *Pyth.* 8 (see Lefkowitz 1977) and the "γείτων ἥρως" in *Nem.* 7 (see Rusten 1983).

20. Cf. Segal 1985 pp. 202–3 for the association of figurative libations of song with the cult practice of pouring libations on the graves of heroes. In both cases, the poet functions as "messenger" between the upper world and Hades.

21. Cf. Boedeker 1984 pp. 90–92 where she argues that milk and honey are common to rituals for the dead; dew (ἔερσα) reflects the purity of the drink. "Pindar's drink is a beverage well calculated to satisfy the athlete's thirst for song by connecting him to the life of the gods."

22. Cf. Pind. *Isthm.* 6.74; *Nem.* 5.53; *Pyth.* 8.56. See Kurke 1991 pp. 62–70 for a more detailed discussion of the imagery of victory songs and ritual offerings to the dead.

23. Mezger 1880 p. 232; Lefkowitz 1985 pp. 52–53, 57; Segal 1985 pp. 205–8.

24. Boedeker 1984 pp. 96–97. For a discussion of the similarities between Pindar's poetry and funerary symbolism, see Duchemin 1955 pp. 269–96. For the metaphorical connections between images of water, liquid, and especially dew, and poetry, see Boedeker 1984 pp. 80–99.

25. Pindar speaks here in the first person as poet; any personal details that he includes in the praise of Arcesilaus should only be considered as part of his poetic persona. See Kirkwood 1981; Lefkowitz 1985 pp. 45–49.

26. Callimachus also includes the foundation of Cyrene as part of the celebration of the Carneian festival.

27. For the Carneian festival and Apollo Carneius, see Paus. 3.13.3–5 and Frazer *ad loc.*; Wide 1973 pp. 73–87; *RE* s.v. Karneia cols. 1986–88; s.v. Karneios cols. 1989–93; Farnell 1907 vol. 4 pp. 131–35; Anastase 1975 pp. 198–202; Burkert 1985 pp. 234–36. Farnell 1932 vol. 2 p. 168 assumes that *Pythian* 5 was composed and performed for the Carneian festival in the year following the victory. For a discussion of *Pyth.* 5 and Apollo Carneius in the context of connections between Sparta and Cyrene, see Nafissi 1985. For a more general discussion of Apollo Carneius and *Pyth.* 5, see Krummen 1990 pp. 108–16.

28. Paus. 3.13.4–5. Pausanias goes on to explain that the Greeks derived Κάρνειος from κρανείας by transposing the *rho*.

29. Burkert 1985 pp. 234–36.

30. I want to thank I. Malkin for letting me see part of his work in progress on Spartan colonial mythology in which he suggests that Apollo's role as Archegetes may be closely linked to the cult of Apollo Carneius.

31. I read "the horsedriving race" (τὸ δ' ἐλάσιππον ἔθνος) as a reference to the Cyreneans, not the Trojans, and take it as the subject of the sentence. This same subject is then taken up as ἄνδρες in the next line, the men who were brought to Cyrene by Aristoteles, another name for Battus. This interpretation involves no textual emendations and takes the passage as a reference not to an historical occasion but rather to a ritual celebration of local heroes. Cf. Gerber 1982 pp. 141–42; Lefkowitz 1985 pp. 50–51 and n. 52. Brunel 1964 pp. 5–21 provides the most comprehensive survey of the textual and interpretive problems with this passage and concludes that the horsedrivers are the Cyreneans who receive the Trojans as heroes in a cult ceremony. Chamoux 1949 and 1953 pp. 71–72, 186 also argues against the existence of an earlier historical foundation of Cyrene by the Trojans. Farnell 1930 pp. 179–80 and Vian 1955 pp. 307–11 come to the same basic conclusion but by reading the Trojans as the horsedriving race and as the object of δέκονται. Perret 1942 pp. 187–89 reads the Trojans as the horsedriving race and as the subject of δέκονται. Brillante 1989 discusses the cult of the Antenorids and the relations between the Greeks and the indigenous populations.

32. Wilamowitz 1922 p. 380 n. 1 refers to similar stories of early settlements in Mediterranean lands of wandering Trojans in places afterwards colonized by Greeks. Farnell 1930 p. 180 speculates that if Greek colonists on their arrival found any such Trojan legends connected with some ancient graves, they would be likely to associate them with the name of the Phil-Hellene, Antenor, so as to ingratiate themselves with the local spirits.

33. Calame 1990 pp. 312–13 and n. 96 also mentions the double aition for the Carneia in *Pythian* 5.

7

Olympian 7 and Bacchylides *Ode* 11: Murder, Victory, and Colonization

τόθι λύτρον συμφορᾶς οἰκτρᾶς γλυκὺ Τλαπολέμῳ
ἵσταται Τιρυνθίων ἀρχαγέτᾳ,
ὥσπερ θεῷ, . . .

Here, the sweet recompense for bitter sorrow was established for Tlepolemus of Tiryns, the founder, just as if for a god, . . . (Pind. *Ol.* 7.77–79)

In *Pythian* 5, Pindar adapts Cyrene's colonial tradition to fit the conventions of epinician poetry; in drawing close parallels between the civic roles of founder and victor, he suggests that each brings significant power and fame to his city. In *Olympian* 7 as well, Pindar paints an elaborate triptych of colonial tales in praise of Diagoras of Rhodes' victory in the boxing competition at Olympia in 464 B.C.E. We have already examined one panel of this aetiological tableau—the marriage of Helius and Rhodes—within the larger context of marriage and rape imagery in city foundation legends. Now in this chapter, I will focus on another chapter in Rhodes' early history—its colonization by Tlepolemus of Argos. Pindar uses the colonial tradition of Rhodes to celebrate his client's athletic success both in terms that will be familiar to us from our discussion of *Pythian* 5 and in new ways as well. In addition to praising the victor in light of the city founder, Pindar exploits the murderer-founder analogy that we discussed in Chapter 2 (for Tlepolemus, the founding hero of Rhodes, is also a murderer) and extends it to include athletic victory as well. Bacchylides, too, describes Panhellenic competition and city foundations as parallel acts of purification, and for this reason, a reading of Bacchylides *Ode* 11 in conjunction with a discussion of *Olympian* 7 will explore how the purification-colonization metaphor operates within the context of epinician poetry.

Let us begin with *Olympian* 7 and a brief overview of the structure of the ode as a whole.[1] The poem opens with a complicated simile taken from the betrothal ceremony celebrating the union of two households through marriage: Pindar compares his gift of song (liquid nectar) to the victor with the bride's father's gift of wine, handed in a golden cup, or *phiale*, to his future son-in-law (1–10).[2] The image of gold is prominent throughout the ode, and in the scholia we read that *Olympian* 7 was dedicated in gold letters at the temple of Athena in the Rhodian city of Lin-

dus—it was literally "worth its weight in gold."[3] After the opening simile, Pindar announces that he will praise Diagoras for his boxing victory by singing of Rhodes, the daughter of Aphrodite and bride of Helius; he adds that he wishes to honor Diagoras' father and the other inhabitants of Rhodes as well (13–19). Pindar then sets about praising both victor and city by beginning the three-part narrative section of the ode with an account of Tlepolemus and the colonization of Rhodes (20–33).

Tlepolemus, son of Heracles, killed Licymnius, his mother's bastard brother, in a fit of anger by hitting him with a gnarled olive club. He then goes to consult the god, and Apollo tells Tlepolemus to sail from the coast of Lernaea straight to a land surrounded by sea. At this point, Apollo's prophetic instructions blend imperceptibly into the next phase of the poem, the account of Athena's altar. The island that Apollo told Tlepolemus to settle is the same one that Zeus showered with gold at the time when Athena was born from his head. Helius advised his dear sons to become the first to worship this goddess, and they set up a holy altar in her honor. An unpredicted cloud of forgetfulness, however, caused them to omit fire and to offer flameless sacrifices to her. Nevertheless, Zeus showered the island with more gold, and Athena gave them artistic gifts (34–51).

Pindar then remarks that men know many ancient stories and begins to tell a third tale from Rhodes' early history, this one about the birth of the island itself (54–76). When the gods were dividing up the world, Helius, the sun god, was absent and was left out of the allotment. Zeus was ready to make a new division when Helius asked instead if he might have the island that only he could see was just now emerging from the sea. Zeus and the fates agreed, and once the new island of Rhodes burst forth from the sea, Helius lay with her and sired seven children, one of whom bore the three eponymous founders of the Rhodian cities of Camirus, Ialysus, and Lindus.

In naming these Rhodian cities, Pindar finds his way back to the beginning of his myth, back to Tlepolemus. Because he was a founder, or *archegetes*, sacrifices and athletic contests were established in his honor, and at these games, Diagoras was crowned with victory twice (77–81). Mention of the Tlepolemeia, or games in honor of Tlepolemus, begins a detailed victory catalogue, listing the numerous victories of Diagoras in all four Panhellenic competitions and in local contests all over the world (81–87). Pindar then concludes the ode with a prayer to Zeus to honor this Olympian victory. Diagoras has kept the wisdom of his ancestors in mind and continued the family tradition of athletic excellence. Even the city joins in the victory celebrations of the Eratidae, and the changeable winds blow different ways at different times.

After the opening simile, Pindar begins the first epode with the announcement that he intends to praise Diagoras for his victory in the boxing competition:

καί νυν ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων σὺν
Διαγόρᾳ κατέβαν, τὰν ποντίαν
ὑμνέων, παῖδ' Ἀφροδίτας
Ἀελίοιό τε νύμφαν, Ῥόδον,
εὐθυμάχαν ὄφρα πελώριον ἄνδρα παρ' Ἀλ-
φειῷ στεφανωσάμενον

αἰνέσω πυγμᾶς ἄποινα
καὶ παρὰ Κασταλίᾳ, πα-
τέρα τε Δαμάγητον ἀδόντα Δίκᾳ,
Ἀσίας εὐρυχόρου τρίπολιν νᾶσον πέλας
ἐμβόλῳ ναίοντας Ἀργείᾳ σὺν αἰχμᾷ.

And now, with the accompaniment of both [lyre and pipes], I have entered with Diagoras, hymning the girl of the ocean, the daughter of Aphrodite and wife of Helius, Rhodes, in order that I may praise that straight-fighting hulk of a man who was crowned beside the Alpheus in compensation for boxing, and beside the Castalian springs and [so that I may praise] his father, Damegetus, who pleases Dike, dwelling by the Argive spear upon the three-citied island near the headland of wide-plained Asia. (13–19)

There are several interesting details here. First, notice how Pindar states his poetic intentions: he hymns Rhodes *in order to* praise (ὑμνέων . . . ὄφρα . . . αἰνέσω) Diagoras. In other words, the victor and his native city are inextricably linked from an epinician point of view; praise for one naturally includes the other. The ode becomes as much about the city as it is about the athlete, for as Pindar remarks at the end, the city shares in the victory celebration of its citizens (Ἐρατιδᾶν τοι σὺν χαρίτεσσιν ἔχει/θαλίας καὶ πόλις, 93–94). For this reason—in order to celebrate the city of Rhodes together with its victor—Pindar chooses to sing of the city's origins.

Second, we recognize the ambiguous manner with which Pindar introduces Rhodes. First she is just "the ocean-y feminine one" (τὰν ποντίαν), and the adjective suggests an impersonal object associated with the sea, such as an island. But the following two appositional phrases describe a divine personage—the daughter of Aphrodite (παῖδ' Ἀφροδίτας) and bride of Helius (Ἀελίοιό τε νύμφαν). Finally, Pindar reveals the noun in question, Rhodes, and as the myth will make clear, she is both island and bride.[4] This conflation of eponymous nymph and city, personified as a mythological figure, helps Pindar include praise of the city within his ode for the victor. Furthermore, the mention of Aphrodite and brides links this passage with the marriage simile of the proem; even more important, it foreshadows the marriage of Helius and Rhodes to follow (61–71).[5]

The three triads that tell Rhodes' history are organized by ring composition, beginning and ending with Tlepolemus' settlement of the island after being exiled for murder from Argos, and a close reading of this section of the ode will explore once again how Pindar embeds colonial ideology in an epinician context. In order to praise Diagoras the victorious boxer, Pindar has already revealed his strategy of hymning Rhodes (both nymph and island), and he will indeed sing of the founding marriage of the nymph later in the ode. But now, he explains, he must begin at the beginning, with the colonial founder, Tlepolemus:

ἐθελήσω τοῖσιν ἐξ ἀρχᾶς ἀπὸ Τλαπολέμου
ξυνὸν ἀγγέλλων διορθῶσαι λόγον,
Ἡρακλέος

εὐρυσθενεῖ γέννᾳ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ
πατρόθεν ἐκ Διὸς εὔχονται· τὸ δ' Ἀμυντορίδαι
ματρόθεν Ἀστυδαμείας.

I wish, announcing from the beginning, from Tlepolemus, to straighten out the common account for the wide-strengthed race of Heracles. For they boast to descend on their father's side from Zeus, and on their mother's side, to be the sons of Amyntor through Astydameia. (20–24)

First of all, Pindar establishes Tlepolemus' family connections, and they are indeed relevant to the occasion at hand. Tlepolemus is the son of Heracles, the founder of the Olympian games, and thus descended from Zeus, their patron deity. Second, in addition to his heroic lineage, Tlepolemus first appears as a colonial founder in the *Iliad*, in the "Catalogue of Ships," leading the Rhodian contingent to Troy, and it may be this Iliadic passage (or one like it) that Pindar has in mind when he announces that he wishes to correct the common account (ξυνὸν ἀγγέλλων διορθῶσαι λόγον).[6] In order to appreciate the nature of the correction it will be helpful to take a look at the two versions side by side. In the "Catalogue of Ships," as part of the list of Rhodian troops, Homer includes a brief synopsis of the colonization of Rhodes:

Τληπόλεμος δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν τράφ' ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ εὐπήκτῳ,
αὐτίκα πατρὸς ἑοῖο φίλον μήτρωα κατέκτα
ἤδη γηράσκοντα Λικύμνιον, ὄζον Ἄρηος.
αἶψα δὲ νῆας ἔπηξε, πολὺν δ' ὅ γε λαὸν ἀγείρας
βῆ φεύγων ἐπὶ πόντον· ἀπείλησαν γάρ οἱ ἄλλοι
υἱέες υἱωνοί τε βίης Ἡρακληείης.
αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἐς Ῥόδον ἶξεν ἀλώμενος, ἄλγεα πάσχων·
τριχθὰ δὲ ᾤκηθεν καταφυλαδόν, ἠδ' ἐφίληθεν
ἐκ Διός, . . .

Now when Tlepolemus was grown in the strong-built mansion, at once he struck to death his own father's beloved uncle, Licymnius, scion of Ares, a man already aging. At once he put ships together and assembled a host of people and fled across the sea, since the others threatened, the rest of the sons and the grandsons of the strength of Heracles. And he came to Rhodes a wanderer, having suffered troubles, and they settled there in triple divisions by tribes, beloved of Zeus, . . . (2.661–69)

In *Olympian* 7, Pindar presents the following "corrected" version:

καὶ γὰρ Ἀλκμήνας κασίγνητον νόθον
σκάπτῳ θενών
σκληρᾶς ἐλαίας ἔκτανεν Τί-
ρυνθι Λικύμνιον ἐλθόντ' ἐκ θαλάμων Μιδέας
τᾶσδέ ποτε χθονὸς οἰκι-
στὴρ χολωθείς. αἱ δὲ φρενῶν ταραχαί

παρέπλαγξαν καὶ σοφόν. μαντεύσατο δ' ἐς θεὸν ἐλθών.
τῷ μὲν ὁ χρυσοκόμας εὐ-
ώδεος ἐξ ἀδύτου ναῶν πλόον
εἶπε Λερναίας ἀπ' ἀκτᾶς
εὐθὺν ἐς ἀμφιθάλασσον νομόν, . . .

For he killed Licymnius, the bastard brother of Alcmene, striking him with a scepter of hard olive wood at Tiryns, as he [Licymnius] was leaving the rooms of Midea, he, the founder of this land here—having been driven to anger. Disturbances of the mind cause even a wise man to wander astray. He went to consult the god. And the golden-haired one told him from his well-scented inner chamber to sail from the Lernean cape straight to a land surrounded by sea . . . (27–33)[7]

The two accounts of the settlement of Rhodes obviously have much in common. In each, Tlepolemus, a son of Heracles, kills Licymnius, his uncle. As a result, he immediately flees home and settles Rhodes. There are, however, some important discrepancies as well. Most relevant to our current discussion, Pindar inserts Delphic Apollo into the colonization account.[8] In the Homeric poems, we understand that it was fear of retribution from relatives which drove murderers, even in cases of justifiable killings, into exile.[9] Accordingly, in the *Iliad*, Tlepolemus rounds up his companions and sails immediately to Rhodes without any divine consultation at all. Once Apollo and the Delphic oracle become the accepted authorities in cases of the pollution resulting from murder, it is more often the case that the oracle itself directs the exile, and unlike the Homeric version, in *Olympian* 7, Tlepolemus does consult Delphic Apollo after killing his uncle.

Furthermore, Pindar intensifies the importance of Delphi within his narrative by reminding his audience that Tlepolemus' role as founder of Rhodes is a direct consequence of his act of homicide. The word order makes it clear: Tlepolemus killed Licymnius, he, the founder of this land, having been made angry (τᾶσδέ ποτε χθονὸς οἰκιστὴρ χολωθείς, 30). Immediately following this mention of the angered oikist, Pindar interrupts his narrative with a gnomic passage: "disturbances of the mind knock astray even the wise man" (αἱ δὲ φρενῶν ταραχαί παρέπλαγξαν καὶ σοφόν, 30–31). The gnome seems designed to explain the force of χολωθείς, anger, and it is tempting to follow J. Defradas, who pursues the motif here as another Delphically influenced Pindaric correction. He suggests that by characterizing Tlepolemus' act as involuntary manslaughter, an act of passion rather than premeditated murder, Pindar specifically refers to the prominent role that Delphic Apollo and his oracle play in adjudicating such cases of murder.[10] Whether or not the motif is specifically Delphic, Pindar certainly does establish Delphi as the turning point in *Olympian* 7, the transition between the murderer's exile and the colonist's expedition. The absence of premeditation, as we noted earlier, reinforces the colonists' reluctant attitude toward overseas settlement.

More important, we recognize the narrative pattern. A murderer consults the Delphic oracle to be purified and is told by Apollo to lead a colonial expedition. Like Archias, the founder of Syracuse, and Alcmaeon, who settles Acarnania, Tlepolemus' colonial expedition represents the purification necessary to expiate an act

of homicide. We have seen that within the larger system of colonial representation, city founders are often memorialized as murderers, but in an epinician context, this observation about how colonial discourse works leads us to pose yet another question—why is a murderous founder an appropriate model for celebrating an athletic victor's accomplishment? Indeed, Pindar's "corrected" version of the colonization of Rhodes led by a murderer-in-exile has seemed to some to be an unlikely source of praise for an Olympic victor, and scholars have tried to account for this apparent anomaly by saying that Pindar highlights the good that can come after a mistake is made.[11] While this interpretation is superficially accurate, it misses the deeper resonances of colonial representational strategies. As we have seen, the tendency to conflate a murderer-in-exile with a colonial founder reflects the Greek perception of important ideological similarities between purification through exile and colonization. Once purified, the murderer-turned-founder confers powerful advantage upon the city he founds. Keeping this rhetorical strategy in mind, we gain new insight, first of all, into Pindar's incorporation of Apollo and the Delphic oracle into his version of the colonization of Rhodes. But more important, we better understand how the poem works; we can appreciate Pindar's epinician strategy in choosing to compare Diagoras, a victor in the Olympian boxing competition, with Tlepolemus, a murderous founder.

After describing Tlepolemus' Delphic consultation and his mission to colonize Rhodes, Pindar quickly shifts his narrative focus and sings of the founding of Athena's altar on Rhodes and of the birth of the island itself. At the end of the three-part mythological section, however, Pindar uses a locative adverb (τόθι) to return once again to Tlepolemus and the colonial plot. The transition hinges upon celebrations of the founder's cult, Tlepolemus' compensation for the efforts of leading a colony:

> τόθι λύτρον συμφορᾶς οἰκτρᾶς γλυκὺ Τλαπολέμῳ
> ἵσταται Τιρυνθίων ἀρχαγέτᾳ,
> ὥσπερ θεῷ,
> μήλων τε κνισάεσσα πομπὰ
> καὶ κρίσις ἀμφ' ἀέθλοις.
>
> Here, sweet recompense for bitter sorrow was established for Tlepolemus of Tiryns, the founder, just as if for a god—a procession filled with the smoke of sacrificed sheep and athletic contests. (77–80)

As the founder of the Argive colony on Rhodes, Tlepolemus, like Battus in *Pythian* 5, receives heroic honors after death, and Pindar describes the civic celebrations that include annual sacrifices and athletic games. But because this particular colonial founder is also a murderer, Pindar in this poem presents Tlepolemus' posthumous transformation from colonial founder to civic hero as a kind of purification. The particular language used—"sweet recompense for bitter sorrow" (λύτρον συμφορᾶς οἰκτρᾶς γλυκύ)—evokes Apollo's colonial role as purifier, and through chiastic word order Pindar suggests that the act of sweet purification (λύτρον . . . γλυκύ) embraces and expiates the original crime of murder (συμφορᾶς οἰκτρᾶς). By commemorating a murderer as a founding hero, the new city thereby appropri-

ates to itself the sacred power associated with the purification that murder demands. Pindar realizes this, and he specifically introduces Apollo's role as purifier into his account of Tlepolemus and the founding of Rhodes. After killing Licymnius, Tlepolemus consults Apollo's oracle at Delphi and then is purified by setting out to found a colony. The emphasis is not on Tlepolemus as a polluted or defiled murderer, but on his positive and sacred value as a founder of a new city. By comparing Diagoras with Tlepolemus, Pindar suggests that a victorious athlete has similar powers to confer upon his city, and he thus deserves the reward of fame in return for the toils of victory in the boxing competition.

We have already seen in our discussion of *Pythian* 5 that Pindar often draws parallels between the deeds of athlete and hero by describing each as toils or efforts. The resulting honors or celebrations received are correspondingly represented as compensation or rewards. Indeed, at the very beginning of *Olympian* 7, Pindar refers to the song he sings in honor of Diagoras' Olympian victory as a reward for boxing (πυγμᾶς ἄποινα), and at the end of the mythological section, he similarly describes Tlepolemus' founder's cult as purifying compensation (λύτρον συμφορᾶς οἰκτρᾶς γλυκύ).[12] Pindar uses this same convention of compensation as purification (λύτρον) to describe the celebratory song and dance that accompany victory at the beginning of *Isthmian* 8 as well, and in this poem, he combines both of the terms that he uses separately in *Olympian* 7 to praise Diagoras in comparison with Tlepolemus:

> Κλεάνδρῳ τις ἁλικίᾳ
> τε λύτρον εὔδοξον, ὦ νέοι, καμάτων
> πατρὸς ἀγλαὸν Τελεσάρχου παρὰ πρόθυρον
> ἰὼν ἀνεγειρέτω
> κῶμον, Ἰσθμιάδος τε νί-
> κας ἄποινα, . . .
>
> Let someone, O young men, go to the glorious porch of his father Telesarchus and raise up the celebration for Cleander, in his youth, a glorious recompense for his efforts, the reward for an Isthmian victory, . . . (1–4)

As compensation for the risks and dangers of competition, compensation characterized in purificatory terms, Pindar offers the *komos*, a victory song and celebration, to the young athlete.

To return to *Olympian* 7, the career of the oikist is a potent source of praise for the athletic victor. Furthermore, Tlepolemus' "shady" background as a murderer-turned-founder proves not to be a liability but is, in fact, particularly relevant to Diagoras' role as victor. Both founder and victor gain fame for their efforts; the accomplishment of each involves risk and violence. Tlepolemus kills his uncle, founds a colony, and is celebrated as a founding hero. Diagoras overcomes his opponent in a boxing match and achieves a similar kind of civic stature of his own. In this sense, Pindar characterizes Tlepolemus' actions as a mythic exaggeration of the violent sport of boxing and creates a framework in which to perceive the athlete as heroic. As Gregory Nagy has shown, "the ordeals of heroes, as myths, are analo-

gous to the ordeals of athletes, as rituals, in that the themes of living and dying in the myth are analogous to the themes of winning and losing in the ritual of athletics."[13]

We know that the Greeks celebrated successful athletes with great honors. Athenian Olympic victors, for example, were awarded cash prizes paid by the Athenian treasury.[14] In addition, an inscription promises a lifetime of free meals at the prytaneum to all victors in athletic or equestrian events at the four major Panhellenic games.[15] Xenophanes complained that in addition to a lump sum, victorious athletes got free board at public expense and seats of honor at public festivals.[16] Rewards to athletes, however, were not restricted to material goods. A victor at the Olympian games could also commission a statue of himself that would stand at Olympia, forever commemorating his achievement. In Book Six of his travels, Pausanias recounts many examples of such statues of Olympic victors including those of Diagoras and his family.[17] He also mentions that occasionally these athletes were honored as heroes.

Not all athletes, however, achieved the status of a hero in their native cities, and the circumstances that prompted such a transformation are significant in light of our discussion of the murderous founder as heroic model for an athletic victor. Before we consider the nature of these circumstances, let us look at one of the hero-athletes from Pausanias' list. Cleomedes of Astypalaea accidentally killed his opponent, Iccus of Epidaurus, in the boxing event at the Olympian games in 492 B.C.E., and as a result, the judges denied him the victory. Cleomedes was wild with anger and attacked a schoolhouse. He pulled down a pillar supporting the roof, which collapsed and killed sixty children. The horrified citizens pelted Cleomedes with stones, and he fled to the temple of Athena for sanctuary where he crawled into a box to hide. When the mob arrived and opened the chest, there was no sign of the boxer, dead or alive. The Astypalaeans then consulted the Delphic Oracle about the mystery and received orders to honor Cleomedes as a hero:

> Ὕστατος ἡρώων Κλεομήδης Ἀστυπαλαιεύς
> ὃν θυσίας τιμᾶ⟨θ' ἄ⟩τε μηκέτι θνητὸν ἐόντα.
>
> Last of heroes is Cleomedes of Astypalaea. Honor him with sacrifices as being no longer mortal. (6.9.8)

Pausanias' story reflects a way of thinking that associates athletic excellence with heroic behavior. Joseph Fontenrose wants to see in Pausanias' list of heroized athletes an original archetype of athlete-hero modelled perhaps on Heracles, the Greek hero who performs labors which are called *athla* and which often resemble athletic events.[18] This explanation, however, fails to explain why only certain athletes become heroes. François Bohringer presents another approach that links the heroization of athletes with cities in a state of internal or external crisis. For example, he reads Cleomedes' transformation from athlete to hero within the larger context of the general Persian threat to the islands at the beginning of the fifth century and Herodotus' specific mention of the troubles that Chios suffered prior to the Persian invasion.[19] Astypalaea, like Chios, Bohringer suggests, threatened by the Persian menace after the capture of Miletus in 494 B.C.E., looked to the external Olympic success of an athlete to counteract the internal crisis of the city.[20]

Such a phenomenon, together with the language and imagery of both epinician

poetry and athletic inscriptions, suggests that the Greeks believed in a kind of talismanic power that the victorious athlete possesses and can transfer to the city in its time of need.[21] Bohringer's theory helps account for the selectivity with which only some athletes are celebrated as heroes and is important for our discussion of *Olympian* 7 with its analogy between murderous founder and victor. The talismanic power of the victorious athlete is quite similar to the consecrating power associated with a purified murderer, and we can begin to see how legends of murderous founders operate in epinican contexts. Athletes receive heroic honors under specific historical conditions such as an internal or external threat to civic stability, and the crisis that prompts the heroization of an athlete (as well as the victory itself) represents a transgression of proper ritual norms. Colonies, too, are settled in response to civic crisis, and colonial founders, especially those who are remembered as murderers, trangress boundaries; as a result, they attain heroic status. Finally, we must remember that athletes and city founders are among the few ordinary mortals who can attain the status of hero in the historical Greek world. Common to both the athlete (especially one competing in violent sports such as boxing) and the murderous city founder is the extraordinary deed, the transgressive act. Within this transgression, however, lies the potential for significant power and heroic status. We have seen that within the narrative structure of colonial tales, the act of murder acknowledges the bloodshed inherent in establishing new cities in foreign territories. The violence of athletic competition is part of this same system—a system which accommodates the sacrifices and violence that are the price of civilization.

In *Olympian* 7, Pindar includes the myth of Tlepolemus' murder and subsequent settlement of Rhodes as a model for the praise of Diagoras the Olympic boxing victor. The careers of both founder and boxer involve risk and violence; both combine individual achievement with glory for their cities. The talismanic power, or *kudos,* that the athlete confers upon his native city is reinforced in this poem through the figure of Tlepolemus, a murderer transformed through purification into a city founder. Appropriately enough, crowns, the physical manifestation of that power which both athlete and founder bring to the city, also play a prominent role in *Olympian* 7; they help establish the link between Diagoras and Tlepolemus.[22] At the beginning of the ode, Diagoras is crowned beside the Alpheus (στεφανωσάμενον, 15); he is crowned again at the end, twice at the games of Tlepolemus (ἐστεφανώσατο δίς, 81). This crowning imagery highlights the circular pattern of the narrative, the ring composition of the Tlepolemus myth.

The account of an angry murderer turned colonial founder no longer appears to be an unlikely source of praise for the very successful boxer Diagoras of Rhodes on the occasion of his Olympic victory. Archaic colonial discourse reveals a strong ideological link between purification and colonization, and we have seen that the key to this analogy lies not in the murder itself but in the two-step process of murder followed by purification. Pindar suggests that just as the murderer, once purified, assumes a new constructive value as founder of the new city, the athlete, victorious in competition, plays an important civic role in conferring his talismanic power upon his native city. In addition, accounts of purified murderers as colonial founders address the issue of violence that is implicit in Panhellenic competition as well.

In many ways, the structure and themes of *Olympian* 7, unique as they may seem, are similar to an epinician poem by Bacchylides, *Ode* 11, also composed for a victor from a colonial city, and a close look at this poem will supplement and reinforce our reading of *Olympian* 7.[23] *Ode* 11 honors Alexidamus of Metapontum, victor in the boys' wrestling match at Delphi. The colony of Metapontum was settled by Achaeans from the Corinthian gulf at the end of the eighth or early seventh century B.C.E., led by an oikist named Leucippus. But as is often the case, the Metapontines recall another tradition as well which claims different colonial origins. Strabo tells us that they claimed that Metapontum was colonized by Achaeans from Pylos led by Nestor as they returned home at the end of the Trojan War.[24] Bacchylides alludes to this later tradition at the end of the ode when he mentions the sack of Troy by the Achaeans.[25]

Like *Olympian* 7, the seemingly inappropriate myth of Bacchylides' *Ode* 11, the tale of the maddened daughters of Proetus, has perplexed scholars; how could such a story celebrate a young man's Pythian victory? Compounding this interpretive problem is the complicated structure of the ode, and for this reason, it will be helpful to outline it briefly before we explore the nature of the myth and its use of colonization imagery. The poem is carefully divided into three sections, each of which is marked by ring composition.[26] The first section, the proemium, contains an appeal to Nike, goddess of victory—it is through her benevolence that Alexidamus enjoys the celebration of his victory at the Pythian games. He would have won at Olympia as well the year before if the judges had been fair, and so Artemis Hemera, the Soother, has given him this victory (1–39).

The second section of the poem contains the myth, and this, too, is recounted in ring composition; the account begins and ends with the construction of the altar to Artemis, for, as Bacchylides continues, it was to this goddess that Proetus set up an altar when Hera drove his daughters mad. They had boasted that their father was more wealthy than the golden-haired consort of Zeus, and so she drove them from Tiryns. Ten years earlier Proetus and his daughters had been forced to leave their native city of Argos, for an unending quarrel erupted between Proetus and his brother, Acrisius. To solve the quarrel the people asked that the brothers share the land and that the younger make a new home in Tiryns. He did, and Zeus honored the new site and had the mighty Cyclopes build its walls (40–81).

At this point in the poem, we start working our way back again through the myth. Bacchylides has explained why the daughters of Proetus were driven from Tiryns just as they were earlier expelled from Argos. They wandered for thirteen months until their father came to the River Lousus in Arcadia. There Proetus appealed to Artemis, who in turn persuaded Hera to release the daughters, and they immediately built an altar to Artemis. Now, in the third and final section of the ode, Bacchylides addresses the goddess in his own voice and remarks that she accompanied the Achaean settlers from this spot in Arcadia to her new temple on the banks of the Casas River in Metapontum (82–126).

Reference to the victory itself is limited to the opening section of the poem. The goddess Artemis provides the connection between the victory and the myth. Once Bacchylides mentions Artemis' role in Alexidamus' success—she has given him victory at Delphi as a soothing salve for his previous Olympic defeat—the mytho-

logical material unfolds in a precise, circular fashion. In fact there are two separate but connected rings, each of which culminates in a foundation. Parallel to the account of the foundation of the altar to Artemis at Lousus is the story of the foundation of the city of Tiryns. The stories are told in elaborate ring composition, marked by exact verbal repetition. The following diagram makes the structure clear:

Alexidamus would have also won at Olympia; Artemis Hemera gives this victory as cure
to whom (τᾧ) Proetus and daughters built altar (βωμόν) 40–42
whom (τάς) Hera drove mad; for they boasted about wealth
so they left (λιποῦσαι) Tiryns 43–58
having left (λιπόντες) Argos ten years earlier,
they now dwell (ναῖον) with king
a quarrel (νεῖκος) occurred; younger brother founded Tiryns
where they live (ναῖον) having left (λιπόντες) Argos 59–81
from there (Tiryns), they rushed off, wandered thirteen months
Proetus bathes at Lousus 82–109
builds an altar (βωμόν) to Artemis 110–12

It has been noted that Bacchylides' version of the myth of the daughters of Proetus is not exactly consistent with earlier versions.[27] The myth can be found as early as Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women*, and various accounts give different reasons for the daughters' mania—they offended either Hera or Dionysus—and their sickness also takes different forms—baldness, leprosy, or Bacchic madness. The main focus of the traditional version, however, is not the daughters but Proetus himself and his dealings with the seer Melampus, who bargains with the king to cure his daughters in return for a sizeable chunk of his kingdom.[28] Bacchylides, however, tells a different version of the myth. He suppresses Melampus completely and has Artemis, herself, cure the women directly. The emphasis, thus, is on Artemis and on the construction of her temple at Lousus as a healing process. Furthermore, the temple is connected with another constructive act—the foundation of a city.[29]

The central point of the mythological section, in fact of the poem itself, is the account of the foundation of Tiryns:

νεῖκος γὰρ ἀμαιμάκετον
βληχρᾶς ἀνέπαλτο κασιγνητοῖς ἀπ' ἀρχᾶς
Προίτωι τε καὶ Ἀκρισίωι·
λαούς τε διχοστασίαις
ἤρειπον ἀμετροδίκοις μάχαις τε λυγραῖς,
λίσσοντο δὲ παῖδας Ἄβαντος
γᾶν πολύκριθον λαχόντας
Τίρυνθα τὸν ὁπλότερον
κτίζειν, πρὶν ἐς ἀργαλέαν πεσεῖν ἀνάγκαν·

> For turbulent strife had arisen from harsh beginnings among the brothers, Proetus and Acrisius, and they were destroying the people with grievous and unmeasured fighting; they [the people] begged the sons of Abas to draw lots for the land, rich in barley, and that the younger one settle Tiryns before [Argos] fell into harsh necessity. (64–72)

Once again we recognize traditional colonization motifs within this story. An implacable quarrel (νεῖκος γὰρ ἀμαιμάκετον), which divides the population (διχοστασίαις), provokes the settlement of Tiryns. As we have seen in the cases of Cyrene or Elea, civil strife or factionalism is often presented as the motivating factor for colonial expeditions, and Bacchylides isolates this aspect of the colonization of Tiryns.[30] Earlier, we noted that Plato describes the expulsion of political undesirables in the form of a colony as a way to purify the city of a bad element, and we have also seen that political exile functions narratively as a multiform of exile for murder, another kind of civic purification. In *Ode* 11, the people themselves recognize the destructive potential of this quarrel between the two ruling brothers and ask that the younger one leave to found a new city elsewhere.[31] They beg him to found a new city as a way to purge the existing one of certain disaster.

The account of Tiryns' foundation is marked very clearly by verbal repetition. Bacchylides introduces the founding legend by mentioning that the heroes live in Tiryns now, having left Argos behind (λιπόντες Ἄργος / ναῖον, 60–61). At the end of the account, Bacchylides uses the same language again (ναῖον . . . / Ἄργος ἥρωες περκλειτοὶ λιπόντ[ες, 80–81). Bacchylides' circular narrative thus embeds the founding of Tiryns within the myth of the purification of the daughters of Proetus, and as Anne Burnett has argued, the two accounts are not at all contradictory, but rather two versions of the same tale:

> Both stories begin with an unnatural crime, for the sisters quarreled with Hera in a place where they did not belong, while the brothers quarreled with one another in the family palace where no quarrels should occur. In both cases punishment came in the form of further unnatural acts that were perverse and self-damaging (Bacchylides' word for this quality is *palintropos*, 54; contrary, turned back upon itself): bestial unfeminine wanderings for the girls and wasteful unprincely killings for the men. These punishments are in each story called "necessity" (*anangke*, 46 and 72), and in each story a prayer is offered, in the masculine tale by the people of Argos (69) and in the feminine one by the king, Proetus (99). Then the "necessity" of grievous slaughter and the "necessity" of godless ravings are alike simply "stopped" (*ethelen . . . pausai*, 73–76; *pausen*, 108) by the two gods. And finally both stories end with outward and visible signs of the gods' interventions, the walls and the altar (*teichos . . . kamon*, 77; *temenos bomon te teuchon*, 110).[32]

Such careful verbal parallelism conflates the two accounts; they become different ways to tell the same story. The outer tale helps us to read the inner one; it describes the founding of a city as a purificatory act.

Although Apollo himself is not mentioned in this colonial account, we recog-

nize the theme of colonial endeavor as a process of civic purification, and this brings us back to our original question—what can these two myths of purification and foundation have to do with a young boy's wrestling victory at the Pythian games? We have seen in our discussions of *Pythian* 5 and *Olympian* 7 how the career of a city founder serves in many ways as a poetic model for the praise of an athletic victor. Both activities bring fame and renown to the city; they both require toil and effort but bring rewards in return.[33] Finally, both founder and victor are honored as civic heroes. But equally important is the concept of purification itself—it is a powerful and constructive force for the city.

Bacchylides tells us that Alexidamus received his Pythian victory from the "soothing goddess" because he was denied a previous Olympian victory. Similarly, in an attempt to free his daughters from their madness, Proetus builds a temple to Artemis at the soothing springs of Lousus:

> ἀλλ' ὅτε δή
> Λοῦσον ποτὶ καλλιρόαν πατὴρ ἵκανεν,
> ἔνθεν χρόα νιψάμενος φοι-
> νικοκ[ραδέμνο]ιο Λατοῦς
> κίκλη[ισκε θύγατρ]α βοῶπιν,
> χεῖρας ἀντείνων πρὸς αὐγάς
> ἱππώκεος ἀελίου,
> τέκνα δυστάνοιο λύσσας
> πάρφρονος ἐξαγαγεῖν·
>
> But when their father reached the beautiful-flowing springs of Lousus, bathing there, he called to the ox-eyed daughter of purple-crowned Leto, stretching his hands to the rays of the charioteer sun, [praying] that his daughters be led out from this terrible madness. (95–103)[34]

Once we perceive the organizing principle behind the mythological material of Bacchylides' *Ode* 11, we recognize its contents and structure as very similar to those of Pindar's *Olympian* 7. In the Pindaric ode, Tlepolemus, the murderous founder of Rhodes, provides the mythological model for Diagoras, the boxing victor; each receives civic honors as compensation for their deeds. In Bacchylides' *Ode* 11 a similar set of parallels operates. Just as Proetus was denied his home city because of a quarrel, and just as his daughters were sent into a year-long wandering exile because of a quarrel with Hera, so Alexidamus was deprived of a victory at Olympia because of a difference of opinion with the judges. But for each, out of this struggle comes a new civic construction—a city or a Panhellenic victory. The intermediary myth of the daughters of Proetus and Artemis provides the purifying or civilizing context that sets the terms for comparing victor and city founder.[35] Both Bacchylides and Pindar invoke the city founder as a source of praise for the victor, and each conceptualizes a victory and a colony as comparable compensation for toil and risk. Both poems combine praise for athletic victory with other stories of foundations.

As a final comment on the colonial context of *Ode* 11, the very structure of the poem depends on the coincidence of temples to Artemis in Arcadia and in the vic-

tor's home town of Metapontum, for yet another colonization account within the ode allows Bacchylides to travel from one site to another. At the end of the poem he explains that the cult of Artemis was brought to Magna Graecia with the original Achaean settlers:

> ἔνθεν καὶ ἀρηϊφίλοις
> ἄνδρεσσιν ⟨ἐς⟩ ἱπποτρόφον πόλιν Ἀχαιοῖς
> ἕσπεο· σὺν δὲ τύχαι
> ναίεις Μεταπόντιον, ὦ
> χρυσέα δέσποινα λαῶν·
>
> From there you [Artemis] too followed the Achaean warrior men to the horse-raising city, and with good fortune you inhabit Metapontum, O golden mistress of the people. (113–17)

Metapontum was founded by Achaeans returning from the Trojan War, as Bacchylides tells us in the next few lines (118–23). The colonists built a temple to Artemis by the sweet waters of Casa, and Bacchylides thus reminds us that colonists brought the worship of their gods with them from their mother city. The temple of Artemis, common to both mother city and colony, becomes the point of transition from the mythic setting back to the present-day occasion; it brings Bacchylides to the victor's native city.

The account of an angry murderer who then founds a colony may seem at first to be an unlikely source of praise for the successful boxer Diagoras of Rhodes after an Olympic victory. Our discussion of *Pythian* 5, however, has shown how valuable the analogy between victor and founder can be for the epinician poet in search of ways to unite the victor with his city in praise. In addition, archaic colonial discourse reveals a strong ideological link between purification and colonization, and the key to this analogy lies not in the murder itself, but in the two-step process of murder followed by purification. The murderer is not only a source of pollution, but once purified, he assumes a new constructive value as founder of the new city. Athletic competition as well provides a framework in which the violent nature of any constructive act can be expiated in the interest of the public good. Both *Olympian* 7 and Bacchylides' *Ode* 11 portray the colonization of a city as a kind of civic purification. Founding a colony is like being purified for murder, which in turn is like winning an Olympic victory. In exploring the metaphors, in determining what exactly these three actions have in common, we construct a more precise picture of each.

Notes

1. A complete text and translation of both odes can be found in the Appendix.

2. For discussion of this proem and wedding imagery in Pindar, see Lawall 1961; Young 1968 pp. 69–74; Braswell 1976; Verdenius 1976; Rubin 1980; Brown 1984; Verdenius 1987 pp. 40–88; Kurke 1991 pp. 118–25.

3. Drachmann 1964 vol. 1 p. 195. For the image of gold in Pindar, see Duchemin 1955 pp. 193–228.

4. On the deliberate fusion of nymph and place here, see Young 1968 p. 76. The scholia to this line seem to have fallen prey to Pindar's ambiguity; see Drachmann 1964 vol. 1 pp. 204–5.

5. Young 1968 p. 76; the scholia note that Aphrodite as the mother of Rhodes is Pindar's innovation.

6. There has been much scholarly debate as to what διορθῶσαι means. I translate it literally as "straighten out" in the sense of correcting a previous misunderstanding. Young 1968 p. 78 suggests "elevate to glory"; Norwood 1945 p. 258 n. 3 says "edit." The scholia gloss it variously as ἀκριβῶσαι or διασημῆναι; one suggests that Pindar wants to over apologize (ὑπεραπολογήσασθαι) for the exile of Tlepolemus.

7. Licymnius is the son of Electryon (Alcmene's father) and his concubine, Midea, thus half-brother of Alcmene.

8. There are, of course, other differences as well between the two accounts. For further discussion of Pindar's corrections, see Ruck 1968 pp. 129–32; Young 1968 pp. 82–83; Defradas 1974.

9. Cf., for example, Hom. *Od.* 15.272–78. For discussions of murder and its punishment in the epic poems, see Gagarin 1981 pp. 6–18; Parker 1983 pp. 130–36.

10. Defradas 1974. Unfortunately, as Parker (1983 esp. pp. 138–43) has shown, the evidence is less clear than Defradas would have us believe.

11. Gildersleeve 1890, for example (p. 183), draws such a conclusion about all three myths in the poem: "In each of these three cases we have a good beginning followed by misfortune, and yet a good ending crowns all." Cf. Norwood 1945 pp. 138–45; Young 1968 pp. 79–81 summarizes the bibliography.

12. Young 1968 p. 77 n. 2 on ἄποινα in line 16.

13. Cf. Nagy 1990a pp. 140–41 on this ideology of competition with respect to the Tlepolemeia: "The ideological pattern of these athletic games, compensating for the death of Tlepolemus' relative, is parallel to what we have seen in the Olympic foot race, supposedly compensating for the death of Pelops. The pattern can be summarized as follows. In the mythical past, some catastrophe occurs, typically but not necessarily entailing some form of guilt or pollution. Then a ritual is instituted to compensate for that event. In contrast with the one event recounted in the myth, the events of the ritual are to take place seasonally and into perpetuity."

14. Plutarch (*Solon* 23.3) tells us that Solon reduced to five hundred drachmas the reward (τίμη) which the Athenian treasury paid to Olympian victors.

15. IG I^2 77.11–17.

16. Fr. 2 (West, Diehls). Young 1985 pp. 128–33 discusses the monetary or "professional" rewards won by athletes in the sixth century.

17. Paus. 6.7.1–7. Pausanias mentions that when Diagoras came to Olympia with his sons, the victorious youths carried their father through the crowd while the other Greeks pelted him with flowers and congratulated him on his sons.

18. Fontenrose 1968.

19. Herodotus (6.27) describes two disasters in Chios: (1) 98 out of 100 young choir members sent to Delphi die of the plague, and (2) a school roof collapses and only one out of 120 students survives. He suggests that these accidents were in fact divine portents of the future troubles of the city.

20. Bohringer 1979 p. 12.

21. See Kurke 1993.

22. See Kurke 1993 on the significance of crowns in epinician poetry.

23. Burnett 1985 p. 113 has also noticed the similarities between these two poems.

24. Strab. 6.1.5.

25. Bacchyl. 11.120–26.

26. See Maehler 1982 pp. 202–5 on the form of the ode; the ring composition is delineated by specific repetition of vocabulary.

27. Maehler 1982 pp. 196–202; Burnett 1985 pp. 108–13.

28. Apollod. *Bib.* 2.2.2. In the Catalogue version (Fr. 132–33 MW) the girls angered Hera with their lechery; in the Apollodorus account, they offended Dionysus by refusing to be initiated into his mysteries. Melampus appears in every version of the myth except Bacchylides.

29. Cf. Burnett 1985 p. 109: "The suppression of the seer and the introduction of Artemis allowed Bacchylides to tell a story that enhanced civic power instead of destroying it, and he reinforced this effect with a secondary myth in which a city is miraculously created." See also Seaford 1988 who discusses this poem from the point of view of its relation to pre-marital rituals and rites of passage for women.

30. For other versions of the founding of Tiryns, cf. Apollod. *Bib.* 2.2.1; Ovid *Met.* 5.236.

31. The drawing of lots in this account is also reminiscent of the colonial tradition of assigning portions or allotments of land to each of the new settlers.

32. Burnett 1985 p. 112.

33. Here the word νεῖκος, which Bacchylides uses to refer to the quarrel between the Argive brothers resulting in the founding of a new city, recalls the competitive atmosphere of an athletic contest, especially one of a fairly combative nature like Alexidamus' sport, wrestling. Cf., for example, Pindar's *Pyth.* 9.31, where he uses νεῖκος to describe the wrestling bout between Cyrene and the lion, which has obvious athletic connotations.

34. Burnett 1985 p. 189 n. 18 remarks that it is no accident that Proetus stops at the springs of Lousus to ask Artemis for his daughters' purification; this choice allows Bacchylides to exploit the pun on Λοῦσον, 96 (cleansing); λύσσας, 102 (madness). The pun contains both the madness and the cleansing cure.

35. Burnett 1985 pp. 112–13 emphasizes the theme of civilization in the ode. She also notes that "the boy Alexidamus went out of his city in a kind of sickness of defeat, like the Proetid girls; he travelled to Delphi, as they to Arcadia, and there he was given a healing cure, his victory."

8

Pythian 9: Native Appropriations

ταύτᾳ πόσις ἵκεο βᾶσσαν
τάνδε, καὶ μέλλεις ὑπὲρ πόντου
Διὸς ἔξοχον ποτὶ κᾶπον ἐνεῖκαι·
ἔνθα νιν ἀρχέπολιν θήσεις, . . .

You have come to this glen as a bridegroom to this girl, and you will bear her across the sea to a choice garden of Zeus and there you will make her foundress . . .
(Pind. *Pyth.* 9.51–54)

In *Pythian* 5, Pindar weaves aspects of Cyrene's colonial tradition into his victory ode for Arcesilaus of Cyrene. The poet's characterization of his victory song as a funeral offering to the city founder and other ancestral heroes of Cyrene establishes a bond between victor and founder, and this particular analogy takes advantage of the common epinician trope of describing the victory song as a cult offering. Our reading of *Olympian* 7, on the other hand, recognizes Tlepolemus of Rhodes, a murderer, as a model for epinician praise in light of the colonial convention that presents a purified murderer as the heroized founder of a new city. The use of this rhetorical strategy within an epinician context suggests that the victorious athlete receives comparable heroic treatment at the hands of Pindar. Thus, themes and conventions that belong to colonial discourse shape and are shaped by the metaphorical systems native to the epinician genre. Now, in this chapter, we turn to another poem composed in honor of a Cyrenean victor, one that draws upon a rather different version of the city's colonial origins. *Pythian* 9 celebrates the victory of Telesicrates in the hoplite race at Delphi in 474 B.C.E., and for this occasion, Pindar recounts the city's origins as the love story of Delphic Apollo and Cyrene. Instead of invoking Battus as the founder of Cyrene, as he does in *Pythians* 4 and 5, in this poem, Pindar conjures up an eponymous nymph famous for her beauty in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, and in so doing, he uses bilingual wordplay to combine the themes of colonization and marriage in an epinician context.

Before we investigate the subtleties of colonial representation within *Pythian* 9, we should take a brief look at the structure and content of the ode as well as at some of the scholarship that explores the relationship between the figures of Telesicrates and Cyrene.[1] The poem opens strikingly with Pindar's enthusiastic first-person wish to praise the lucky man who has been victorious in the hoplite race at Delphi,

the crown of Cyrene (1–4). This proclamation immediately leads into the main mythological section, the tale of Apollo and Cyrene, which will occupy the whole of the first three triads. Pindar begins with a brief synopsis: Apollo snatches Cyrene from the wilds of Mt. Pelion and takes her to the place where she will rule as mistress of the lovely and fertile "third root of the world." Aphrodite, herself, graciously receives the bridal couple and joins the two in common marriage (5–13).

Next Pindar describes Cyrene's background (14–25). She is the daughter of Hypseus, king of the Lapiths, but she also has family connections that Pindar traces back to the most basic natural elements; she is related to both Ocean and Earth (Gaea). A child of nature, she cares nothing for the traditional pastimes of a young girl of her age—weaving or parties with her friends—instead she prefers the weapons of men and war. Indeed, because of her passion for outdoor activity, Apollo catches sight of her wrestling a mighty lion bare-handed (26–28).

The god calls upon Chiron, the centaur, to come out of his cave and to marvel at the girl. Apollo asks who she is and then inquires rather boldly if it is permitted for him to have sexual relations with her. Chiron obliges the god of the Delphic oracle by giving him the prophecy of his marriage to Cyrene, which will culminate in the birth of their son, Aristaeus. Chiron concludes his view of the future by telling Apollo that his son will become immortal and live beside the Horae and Gaea (30–65). Pindar then intervenes in his own voice to remark that the ways of the gods are swift when they put their minds to a task; on that very day the matter is accomplished, and Apollo and Cyrene lie together in the golden bedchamber of Libya (68–69).

Pindar then leads his audience from the myth back to the present victory celebration and closes the third triad with a reference to Telesicrates; he illuminates his native city, Cyrene, with his victory and brings back fame from Delphi (71–75). The fourth triad then opens with a transition passage about Theban heroes that serves as a victory catalogue.[2] Pindar closes with the injunction not to forget the words of the old man of the sea—praise even your enemy if he does well (76–96). In this way, we return to the theme of praise, and Pindar remarks that when Telesicrates competed in athletic games, all the women were eagerly watching him, wishing he could be their husband or son (97–100).

Following this mention of hoped-for marriage, Pindar closes the ode with another myth that openly combines the two main themes of marriage and athletic prowess. Antaeus, the king of another Libyan city, Irasa, wishes to marry his daughter to one of her many suitors. He remembers how Danaus, in Argos, once upon a time held a contest and married forty-eight daughters before noon. So he, too, holds a contest and offers his daughter to the swiftest suitor. Alexidamus wins and parades his bride through the crowds of the Nomads in a celebration of both marriage and victory, for in this case, they are one and the same (106–25).

At each stage of the poem, the imagery of weddings and marriage prevails.[3] Anne Carson argues that Pindar alludes to three different aspects of the Greek marriage ritual in order to develop an analogy between victory and marriage.[4] First, Pindar evokes the act of betrothal, which can be designated in Greek by the term ἐγγύη or equally by the verb ἁρμόζειν. This is the moment when the bride's father and the bridegroom initially contract to unite their two houses by transferring the

ownership of the bride from one to the other.[5] In *Pythian* 9, at the end of the poem, the Libyan King Antaeus "joins" the bridegroom to his daughter:

> οὕτω δ' ἐδίδου Λίβυς ἁρμόζων κόρᾳ
> νυμφίον ἄνδρα·
>
> In this way, the Libyan gave a bridegroom, fitting him, to his daughter. (117–18)

Earlier in the poem, Aphrodite "fits together" the marriage of Apollo and Cyrene in a similar fashion:

> καί σφιν ἐπὶ γλυκεραῖς εὐναῖς ἐρατὰν βάλεν αἰδῶ,
> ξυνὸν ἁρμόζοισα θεῷ τε γάμον
> μιχθέντα κούρᾳ θ' Ὑψέος εὐρυβία . . .
>
> And she [Aphrodite] cast lovely modesty upon their sweet bed, fitting together a common marriage, mingled in by the god and the daughter of Hypseus of the wide strength . . . (12–13)

Pindar also evokes the ritual of the bridal procession known as the ἀγωγή through which the bride is led from her home and welcomed into her husband's house by her future mother-in-law.[6] At the end of the poem, Alexidamus leads his newly won bride home through the crowds of Nomads:

> ἔνθ' Ἀλεξίδαμος, ἐπεὶ φύγε λαιψηρὸν δρόμον,
> παρθένον κεδνὰν χερὶ χειρὸς ἑλών
> ἆγεν ἱππευτᾶν Νομάδων δι' ὅμιλον.
>
> There Alexidamus escaped the swift race and taking the pledged girl by the hand, led her through the crowd of Nomad horsemen. (121–23)[7]

Earlier in the poem, Chiron predicts that Cyrene will be welcomed as Apollo's bride by the personification of Libya:

> νῦν δ' εὐρυλείμων πότνιά σοι Λιβύα
> δέξεται εὐκλέα νύμφαν δώμασιν ἐν χρυσέοις
> πρόφρων·
>
> And now wide-meadowed, reverend Libya will receive the famous nymph kindly in her golden halls. (55–56a)[8]

Pindar then invokes this marriage imagery to praise the victor when he proclaims that Telesicrates is welcomed like a bride by Cyrene as he brings home his victory from Delphi:

> ἔνθα νικάσαις ἀνέφανε Κυράναν,
> ἃ νιν εὔφρων δέξεται
> καλλιγύναικι πάτρᾳ
> δόξαν ἱμερτὰν ἀγαγόντ' ἀπὸ Δελφῶν.
>
> Victorious there, he made Cyrene known, and she will receive him benevolently as he brings desired fame from Delphi to his fatherland, full of beautiful women. (73–75)[9]

Cyrene receives the victorious Telesicrates, just as earlier she herself was welcomed to her new home as a bride by Lady Libya, and the use of ἄγω to describe the athlete's return home bringing a longed-for fame with him generates images of wedding processions.

Finally, at the end of the poem, in describing the ritual of pelting the victor with leaves (φυλλοβολία), Pindar evokes a third element of the marriage ritual, the καταχύσματα. This is the moment at the end of the wedding ceremony when the bride and groom are led to the hearth of the house and are showered by figs, dates, cakes, and coins.[10] Once Alexidamus has won his bride in the foot race, he leads her home through the crowds, and the bystanders shower them with crowns and leaves:

> πολλὰ μὲν κεῖνοι δίκον
> φύλλ' ἔπι καὶ στεφάνους·
> πολλὰ δὲ πρόσθεν πτερὰ δέξατο νικᾶν.
>
> They threw many leaves upon them and crowns, and he received many wings of earlier victories. (123–24)

In this way, Pindar infuses *Pythian* 9 with the imagery and vocabulary of the marriage ceremony. He describes Telesicrates' Pythian victory as if it were a marriage, and he draws distinct parallels between this image and the mythical marriage of Apollo and Cyrene narrated at the beginning of the ode. Surprisingly, perhaps, Pindar compares Telesicrates not to the groom but to the bride, Cyrene.[11] She is, after all, an athlete of sorts. When Apollo marvels at Cyrene's hunting prowess before Chiron, he describes her actions with the vocabulary appropriate to Panhellenic victors. She plays with the weapons of athletic contests, and she wrestles with wild beasts. Like Carrhotus, the victorious charioteer of *Pythian* 5, Cyrene competes with an unflappable mind (ἀταρβεῖ νεῖκος ἄγει κεφαλᾷ, 31).[12] In *Nemean* 7, Sogenes receives the verses of Pindar as a reward for his agonistic effort (ἄποινα μόχθων, 16). Similarly, Cyrene's heart is greater than her task (μόχθου καθύπερθε νεᾶνις ἦτορ ἔχοισα, 31a–32).[13] Just as Hippocleas in *Pythian* 10, victorious in the double race, enjoys the taste of prizewinning (γεύεται γὰρ ἀέθλων, 7), Cyrene has a taste of boundless strength (γεύεται δ' ἀλκᾶς ἀπειράντου, 35).[14] Furthermore, it is because of her athletic skill that Apollo takes notice of her and falls in love. Similarly, the women of Cyrene fall in love with Telesicrates as they watch him compete in the local games. Each one secretly wishes he could be her husband or son:

> πλεῖστα νικάσαντά σε καὶ τελεταῖς
> ὡρίαις ἐν Παλλάδος εἶδον ἄφωνοί
> θ' ὡς ἕκασται φίλτατον
> παρθενικαὶ πόσιν ἢ
> υἱὸν εὔχοντ', ὦ Τελεσίκρατες, ἔμμεν, . . .
>
> Many times they saw you victorious even in the seasonal games of Pallas, speechless, each of the young maidens prayed that you would be her dear husband or [the mothers prayed for you to be] their son, O Telesicrates, . . . (97–100)

Telesicrates brings home the news of his victory at Delphi like a bride to his mother city; at the same time, Cyrene, the bride, is portrayed as an athletic victor, and the final myth clearly mingles the two themes of marriage and victory, for King Antaeus' wedding for his daughter is itself an athletic contest. But what exactly is the point of the victory-marriage analogy? Carson suggests that it is Pindar's intention to show that both marriage and competition are public activities, spectator sports, so to speak. Marriage provides the model for victory; each rite provides a way to incorporate the individual into the community. Carson concludes, "In summary, the point of the analogy between bride and victor is, at least in part, to remind us that excellence is a public thing, only properly realized in a communal effort."[15] Marriage, the joining of two separate houses, is a socializing mechanism; it integrates an outsider into the social structure. Telesicrates' victory is a public event as well; he brings outside recognition from Delphi to his homeland.[16]

In *Pythian* 9, Pindar tells the story of the marriage of Apollo and Cyrene as a way to praise Telesicrates, the victor, but the rhetorical relationship between marriage and victory is more complex than it first appears, for the marriage of Apollo and Cyrene also represents the Greek colonization of Cyrene, and as we have seen, marriage operates within the larger context of Greek colonial representation as a metaphor to describe founding a city overseas in terms of cross-cultural contact and civilization. A close look at the language of *Pythian* 9 will show how Pindar draws from the rhetoric and imagery associated with marriage to represent a colonial foundation in an epinician context. The poem opens with Pindar's intention to praise Telesicrates, the victorious athlete in the hoplite race at Delphi:

> Ἐθέλω χαλκάσπιδα Πυθιονίκαν
> σὺν βαθυζώνοισιν ἀγγέλλων
> Τελεσικράτη Χαρίτεσσι γεγωνεῖν
> ὄλβιον ἄνδρα διωξίππου στεφάνωμα Κυράνας·
>
> I wish, announcing with the deep-girdled Charites the bronze-shielded Pythian victor, to hail Telesicrates, a prosperous man, the crown of horse-driving Cyrene. (1–4)

This proclamation immediately introduces the main mythological section, the tale of Apollo and Cyrene, which will occupy the whole of the first three triads. The word order itself in these opening four lines is worth noticing: the Pythian victory implicit in the phrase χαλκάσπιδα Πυθιονίκαν together with the fame it brings move through the victor (ὄλβιον ἄνδρα) and extend to the city itself in the form of a crown (διωξίππου στεφάνωμα Κυράνας). Pindar's poem will provide the mechanism for this transfer of fame and glory; he has chosen a myth that will crown the city by praising the victor: the foundation of Cyrene.[17]

The poet then moves economically from the praise of the city Cyrene to a brief synopsis of the myth about the nymph Cyrene, using as transition a simple relative pronoun (τάν) that refers to both city and nymph:

> τὰν ὁ χαιτάεις ἀνεμοσφαράγων
> ἐκ Παλίου κόλπων ποτὲ Λατοΐδας
> ἅρπασ', ἕνεκέ τε χρυσέῳ παρθένον ἀγροτέραν
> δίφρῳ, τόθι νιν πολυμήλου

καὶ πολυκαρποτάτας θῆκε δέσποιναν χθονός
ῥίζαν ἀπείρου τρίταν εὐ-
ήρατον θάλλοισαν οἰκεῖν.

[Cyrene] whom the long-haired son of Leto once took from the valleys of Pelion which echo in the wind, and he brought the wild maiden in a golden chariot and made her mistress there and caused her to live in the lovely, flourishing third root of the many-flocked and much-fruited land. (5–8)

This brief glimpse of Apollo's rape of Cyrene is very similar to the opening scene of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, which recounts the rape of Persephone at the hands of Hades:

Δήμητρ' ἠύκομον σεμνὴν θεὰν ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν,
αὐτὴν ἠδὲ θύγατρα τανύσφυρον ἣν 'Αιδωνεὺς
ἥρπαξεν, δῶκεν δὲ βαρύκτυπος εὐρυόπα Ζεύς,
νόσφιν Δήμητρος χρυσαόρου ἀγλαοκάρπου
παίζουσαν κούρῃσι σὺν 'Ωκεανοῦ βαθυκόλποις . . .

I begin to sing of Demeter, the fair-haired, holy goddess, herself and her daughter of the fair ankles, whom Hades snatched, and whom deep-thundering, wide-browed Zeus gave, [she was taken] away from golden-sworded, glorious-fruited Demeter when she [Persephone] was playing with the deep-breasted daughters of Ocean . . . (1–5)

Note the similar use of the relative pronoun to introduce the myth; in addition, in both poems, a form of ἁρπάζω occupies the marked position at the beginning of the line. There are further verbal resonances as well that underscore the fruitfulness of the land and the association of the young girl with elements of nature: χρυσέῳ, *Pyth.* 9.6: χρυσαόρου, *Hom. Hymn* 4; κόλπων, *Pyth.* 9.5: βαθυκόλποις, *Hom. Hymn* 5; πολυκαρποτάτας, *Pyth.* 9.7: ἀγλαοκάρπου, *Hom. Hymn* 4. In *Pythian* 9, Cyrene is a granddaughter of Ocean (14–18), and in the Homeric Hymn, Persephone plays with the daughters of Ocean (5). These verbal parallels suggest that we read the rape of Cyrene told in the opening lines of *Pythian* 9 in light of the rape of Persephone, an archetypal myth that both characterizes the violence of marriage as a symbolic death and equates the life cycle of the female with the agricultural seasons of the earth. The literary allusion provides a richly resonant context for Pindar's presentation of the colonial rape of Apollo and Cyrene. In the Homeric Hymn, Demeter and Persephone are closely allied with the fertility of the land, and Pindar makes similar associations by personifying the lands of Libya and Cyrene as mother and daughter-in-law.

To return to *Pythian* 9, in this brief preview of the myth, Pindar describes the rape and subsequent marriage of Cyrene as the progressive movement from wilderness to civilization. Pindar highlights the nymph's premarital primitive nature among the windswept hills of Thessaly in sharp contrast to her future role as mistress of the well-cultivated, fruitful continent of Libya. Apollo grabs a wild maiden (παρθένον ἀγροτέραν) and takes her to live as mistress (δέσποιναν) in a land that is rich in both flocks and fruit (πολυμήλου καὶ πολυκαρποτάτας). The act of

marriage, violent as it has been presented, has civilized her, and her defloration has caused the land to blossom.[18] Pindar's word order again conflates the nymph with the land; the blooming adjective (θάλλοισαν) can modify either, and its lack of clear referent underscores the important link between a woman's erotic flowering and the fruition of the earth.

Pindar backtracks a bit at this point and elaborates upon Cyrene's heritage and lifestyle before she was seen by Apollo. Again, Pindar consistently portrays the nymph as the embodiment of nature; she is the child of the Ocean and the Earth:

> κούρᾳ θ' Ὑψέος εὐρυβία
> ὃς Λαπιθᾶν ὑπερόπλων τουτάκις ἦν βασιλεύς,
> ἐξ Ὠκεανοῦ γένος ἥρως
> δεύτερος· ὃν ποτε Πίνδου κλεεννα῀ς ἐν πτυχα῀ς
> Να῀ΐς εὐφρανθεῖσα Πηνει-
> οῦ λέχει Κρέοισ' ἔτικτεν,
> Γαίας θυγάτηρ.
>
> the daughter of Hypseus of the wide strength, who was king at that time of the insolent Lapiths, a second-generation hero, descended from Ocean, whom the Naead, Creousa, bore once in the glorious valleys of Pindus when she, the daughter of Earth, took delight in the bed of Peneus. (13–17)[19]

In addition to being born from the archetypal elements of Ocean and Earth, as a young girl Cyrene rejects the habits and occupations of civilized, acculturated women and instead acts very much like a young Artemis. The adjective, ἀγροτέραν, which Pindar uses in line 6 to introduce Cyrene is, in fact, a cult title of Artemis, and the following description reinforces the connection:[20]

> ἃ μὲν οὔθ' ἱ-
> στῶν παλιμβάμους ἐφίλησεν ὁδούς,
> οὔτε δείπνων †οἰκουριᾶν μεθ' ἑταιρᾶν τέρψιας,
> ἀλλ' ἀκόντεσσίν τε χαλκέοις
> φασγάνῳ τε μαρναμένα κεράιζεν ἀγρίους
> θῆρας, ἦ πολλάν τε καὶ ἡσύχιον
> βουσὶν εἰρήναν παρέχοισα πατρῴαις, . . .
>
> But she cared neither about the back-and-forth ways of weaving nor did she like the delights of meals at home with her friends. Rather, fighting with bronze spears and sword she slew wild beasts, providing much pleasant peace for her father's cattle . . . (18–23)

A young girl's marriage was conceptualized as the passage from the realm of Artemis to that of Aphrodite, and by characterizing Cyrene here as an Artemis figure, Pindar highlights her premarital status.[21] The wild and precultured nymph, Cyrene, catches Apollo's attention and interest while engaged in an act of combat also reminiscent of Artemis the huntress. Apollo catches sight of Cyrene as she wrestles a wild lion bare handed, without the benefit of weapons:

κίχε νιν λέοντί ποτ' εὐρυφαρέτρας
ὀβρίμῳ μούναν παλαίοισαν
ἄτερ ἐγχέων ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων.

The broad-quivered one came upon her once wrestling alone with a fierce lion without weapons, far-darting Apollo. (26–28)

Cyrene wrestles alone (μούναν), and Pindar highlights Cyrene's lack of weapons by equipping Apollo both with his broad quiver and his far-darting epithet.

In sum, Pindar characterizes Cyrene prior to her marriage to Apollo as a wild nymph of nature, the child of Ocean and Earth, a veritable Artemis; she rejects the pastimes of civilized women and prefers to wrestle animals outdoors. The wildness of Cyrene before marriage highlights her subsequent transformation at the hands of Apollo into the personification of a highly fruitful and fertile land. This transformation, however, no matter how ultimately productive, is not a peaceful one, and Pindar incorporates agricultural imagery familiar from epithalamial poetry at this point in the ode to represent the violence of marriage. Apollo calls upon Chiron, the centaur, to tell him who this marvelous young girl is. He first asks who her people are; literally, "from what stock was she torn" (ποίας δ' ἀποσπασθεῖσα φύτλας, 33)? The god continues even more graphically, though, to ask if he might have his way with the young nymph:

ὁσία κλυτὰν χέρα οἱ προσενεγκεῖν
ἦρα καὶ ἐκ λεχέων κεῖραι μελιαδέα ποίαν;

Is it permitted to lay my famous hand on her and to cut down the honeyed flower from her bed? (36–37)

Commentators have been greatly disturbed by what they consider the uncharacteristically and unnecessarily graphic and violent language that Apollo uses here to express his sexual desire for the nymph Cyrene. Indeed, this language is violent and must be recognized as such and not glossed over or effaced through euphemism.[22] Pindar chooses a harsh agricultural metaphor to characterize the violence of defloration. His word choice again calls to mind the passages from Sappho's epithalamial poetry that describe a girl's loss of virginity in terms of beautiful ripe fruit being plucked or purple flowers trampled by heavy boots.[23] In fact, at the end of *Pythian* 9, Pindar employs another agricultural image to describe the suitors' desire for Antaeus' beautiful daughter:

χρυσοστεφάνου δέ οἱ Ἥβας
καρπὸν ἀνθήσαντ' ἀποδρέψαι
ἔθελον. πατὴρ δὲ θυγατρὶ φυτεύων
κλεινότερον γάμον, . . .

They wanted to pluck the blossoming fruit of her golden-crowned youth. And her father produced a rather famous marriage for his daughter . . . (109–12)

It is a commonplace of wedding poetry to acknowledge the violence inherent in marriage from a woman's point of view, and this is obviously part of what lies

behind Pindar's use of agricultural imagery to portray both the suitors' desire for Antaeus' daughter and Apollo's lust for Cyrene.

But the colonial context of this poem causes the metaphor to resonate even more deeply. The violence of marriage, as represented through this agricultural image, evokes the violence of colonization as well—violence to the landscape and to the native populations. It is worth noting the larger semantic range of the verb (κεῖραι) Pindar uses in Apollo's question about Cyrene. It can mean to cut short or clip, as one shears hair as part of the rite of mourning; it can also refer to the process of ravaging a landscape.[24] In Herodotus, the verb is used to describe the clearing of a plain for cavalry action prior to battle (5.63); of the destruction wrecked by the Persians upon the uncooperative people of Carystus (6.99), and of Xerxes' army hacking away at the Macedonian mountains so that his men might move through them (7.131). Clearly, Pindar's use of the verb here to describe the sexual deflowering of Cyrene is meant to remind the listener that this is no ordinary marriage but one which represents a greater civilizing project—the colonization of a Greek city in Libya.

Apollo, in posing his question to Chiron, highlights the bare facts of sexual relations between men and women. Chiron's response, however, presents the more culturally acceptable, civilized characterization.[25] His opening words enigmatically invoke the power of persuasion in matters of love: "Hidden are the keys of wise Peitho, the keys of holy loves" (κρυπταὶ κλαῖδες ἐντὶ σοφᾶς/ Πειθοῦς ἱερᾶν φιλοτάτων, 39–39a). Why mention Peitho here? On vase paintings of marriage processions, a personified Peitho is often portrayed together with Aphrodite as an attendant of the bride. A red-figure skyphos in Boston, for example, depicts such a marriage scene, and the details of the representation help explain Chiron's puzzling remark[26] (Figure 8.1). The cup depicts a wedding procession on foot with the groom leading the way, firmly gripping the bride's wrist as he looks back at her. Eros hovers in front of the bride; she is also accompanied by Aphrodite. The aggressive gesture of the groom seizing the bride seems to characterize the scene as an abduction, but behind Aphrodite stands Peitho, and her presence simultaneously suggests that the bride has been persuaded to go willingly with the groom. This is no ordinary bride and groom; the wedding couple is identified as Paris and Helen. This iconographical convention reflects the belief, common in literary contexts as well, that it is the power of Persuasion, the rhetoric of Aphrodite, which negotiates a smooth transition from the violence of a girl's loss of virginity to a more civilized view of the legitimate relations between men and women.[27] Pindar incorporates this same transitive power of Persuasion at this point in *Pythian* 9 as well, for when Chiron describes the future marriage of Apollo and Cyrene, we see that it will be very fruitful and productive indeed:

> νῦν δ' εὐρυλείμων πότνιά σοι Λιβύα
> δέξεται εὐκλέα νύμφαν δώμασιν ἐν χρυσέοις
> πρόφρων· ἵνα οἱ χθονὸς αἶσαν
> αὐτίκα συντελέθειν ἔννομον δωρήσεται,
> οὔτε παγκάρπων φυτῶν νά-
> ποινον οὔτ' ἀγνῶτα θηρῶν.

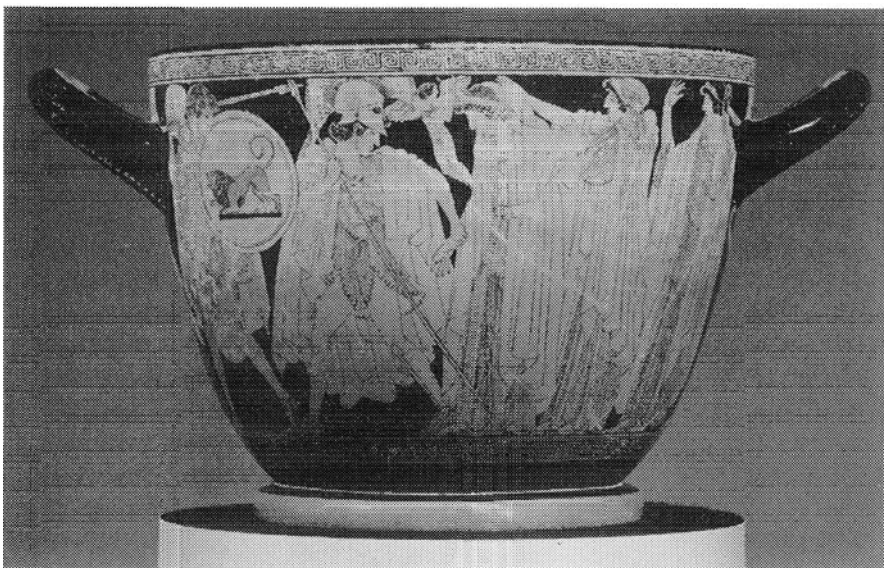

Figure 8.1. Paris abducting Helen. Attic Red Figure skyphos (Side A), signed by Macron as painter and Hieron as potter, ca. 490–480 B.C.E. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 13.186. Francis Bartlett Fund. *(Photo courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)*

> τόθι παῖδα τέξεται, ὃν κλυτὸς Ἑρμᾶς
> εὐθρόνοις Ὥραισι καὶ Γαίᾳ
> ἀνελὼν φίλας ὑπὸ ματέρος οἴσει.
>
> And now wide-meadowed, reverend Libya will receive the famous nymph kindly in her golden halls, where at once she will make her a present of a portion of land to be lawfully hers, land which is neither lacking in plants of all fruits nor unfamiliar to beasts. There she will bear a child, whom the famous Hermes will take from the mother and bear to the well-throned Horae and Gaea. (55–61)

While Apollo's question characterizes marriage and colonization as a kind of rape, Chiron's reassuring response presents the flip side and describes both marriage and colonization as fruitful and productive institutions. No mention of any violence or conflict between Greeks and indigenous peoples here; instead, the native landscape is personified as Lady Libya, graciously receiving the famous nymph within her golden halls; she gives her as a wedding gift title to the land which is productive of all kinds of fruits and flocks.[28] Cyrene, herself imitating the fecundity of the land, will give birth to a child as well, Aristeas, who immortalized by the Horae, Hermes and Gaea, will prove to be a charm to men and an ever-present protector of flocks. This conclusion to the colonial marriage of Cyrene and Apollo, productive of both city and son, is reminiscent of the colonial oracle from Croton's colonial tradition, which similarly blurs the acts of producing a new colony and producing children.

The oracle, we remember, tells Myscellus that he will have children once he founds the colony of Croton.[29] A successful marriage is measured in terms of legitimate children, and the prosperity of a colonial settlement similarly depends upon the colonists' ability to master the land, to transform the virgin territory into a productive landscape—a city. And so, as in *Pythian* 9, the metaphor of marriage together with the feminization of the land becomes a useful and productive way to describe colonization.

Pindar uses the discourse of rape and marriage to express the similar collocation of violence and civilization inherent in founding a colony overseas. In fact, he adapts what we have identified as the plot of the noncolonial foundation tale, erotic conquest, to fit a colonial context. In Chapter 4, we discussed the two distinct, but often overlapping, narrative patterns that recount noncolonial and colonial city foundations. Noncolonial foundations are often told as the rape of a local nymph by an Olympian deity; the name of the city is thus derived either from the nymph or from the offspring produced from this union. The colonial narrative, on the other hand, describes overseas colonization in terms of a civic crisis that forces the colonist(s) to leave home and consult the Delphic oracle. Apollo then advises founding a new city overseas, and the expedition takes place. Once the colonial narrative arrives at the moment of foundation, however, its narrative agenda coincides to a great extent with that of a noncolonial foundation, and for this reason, the rape (or marriage) plot often survives within individual colonial tales. As we have seen, the erotic conquest plot merges with colonization tales in several different ways. Perhaps most common, the erotic plot is displaced from the tale itself and put into the text of the colonization oracle that motivates the city foundation. Within the colonial tale that describes the Corinthian settlement of Syracuse, for example, the oracle recounts the foundation as the love story of Alpheus and Arethusa. Another solution to this narrative problem appears in Pindar's *Olympian* 7 where Pindar separates out two different stages of Rhodes' early history: the foundation of the island, told as the marriage of Helius and Rhodes, and its subsequent colonization, led by Tlepolemus, a murderer sent into exile by Delphic Apollo.

Now, within *Pythian* 9, Pindar offers a third solution to the same narrative challenge. This time he conflates the two different plots and tells Cyrene's colonization story as the marriage of an eponymous nymph and Apollo, the patron deity of colonization. In other words, Pindar adapts the marriage plot to address the colonial agenda. By making Apollo the bridegroom, he includes the important role that Delphi plays in archaic colonization. He also addresses the issue of movement—the rape of Cyrene is not a local event but a transoceanic one. Apollo spies Cyrene wrestling lions in the hills of Thessaly and brings her to the site that bears her name. In creating his *Pythian* 9 version of the colonization of Cyrene, Pindar unites a Greek tradition about a nymph Cyrene with the foundation tradition of a Libyan city of the same name.

To disentangle the different threads of this narrative web, let us look first at the noncolonial Greek mythological tradition. The scholiasts commenting on *Pythian* 9 explain that Pindar takes his myth from Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women*:

> Ἦ οἵη Φθίῃ Χαρίτων ἄπο κάλλος ἔχουσα
> Πηνειοῦ παρ' ὕδωρ καλὴ ναίεσκε Κυρήνη.

> Or like her, beautiful Cyrene in Phthia; she used to live beside the water of the Peneus, having her beauty from the Graces.[30]

The Hesiodic tradition, it would seem, is limited to the mention of Cyrene, a beautiful nymph who lived beside the banks of the Peneus; she married Apollo and had a son Aristaeus. It is very likely that Pindar invented the other details—the lion, the prophecy, the conversation between Apollo and Chiron—specifically for the occasion of *Pythian* 9. In later literature, Aristaeus has no connection with Libya; in fact, even in Pindar's account, he is immediately taken back to Greece. In *Pythian* 9, then, Pindar takes this Hesiodic tradition set in Thessaly about a young nymph, Cyrene, and transforms it into a colonial epinician ode for a victor from a Libyan city called Cyrene.[31]

A colonially charged reading of *Pythian* 9 is reinforced by additional parallels between this version of the colonization of Cyrene and the tale of Battus as founder that Pindar tells in *Pythians* 4 and 5. In fact, many details of Cyrene's adventure as founding deity correspond quite closely to Pindar's account of Battus in *Pythian* 5; the two accounts are structural doublets. Like Battus in *Pythian* 5, for example, Cyrene has a successful encounter with a lion prior to founding the colony that will take her name.[32] Each founder has a unique personal trait: Battus stutters, and Cyrene is an athletic huntress, and in both cases, it is this distinguishing characteristic that brings them in contact with the lion and accounts for their victory over the beast. Battus scares the lion away with his overseas voice, and Cyrene wrestles it to death.[33] Furthermore, this unique personal trait brings each potential founder in contact with Apollo. Battus consults Apollo at the Delphic oracle about his stutter and is told to lead a colony to Libya. Cyrene catches the attention of the god himself as she struggles with the lion. Apollo falls instantly in love and carries her overseas to be the eponymous foundress of Cyrene.

In addition, both Battus and Cyrene have names with bilingual etymologies; for each, one name has roots in the local Libyan tradition, the other in Greek culture and language. The Greeks understood "Battus" to mean either "the stutterer" from the Greek verb "to stutter" (βατταρίζειν) or as the local Cyrenean term for king. Similarly, either Cyrene's name refers to the name of a nymph mentioned in Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women*, or it can be explained as a local place-name. There was a good deal of speculation about the origin of Cyrene's name even in ancient times. Stephanus of Byzantium records the two possible etymologies: "Cyrene: city of Libya, from Cyrene, the daughter of Hypseus, or from the native spring Cyra."[34] Callimachus also plays with both etymologies in his *Hymn to Apollo*, and he tells us that the spring of Apollo in Cyrene is called Cyra.[35] Pindar, in effect, "retro-motivates" a Greek etymology for the Libyan place-name. He imports Cyrene from the Hesiodic Catalogue and establishes her in Libya as an eponymous nymph. Like Battus, her name is significant in two languages.

Another episode in *Pythian* 9, the exchange between Apollo and the centaur Chiron, resonates as well with themes from colonial discourse. Leonard Woodbury has pointed out that in this poem Apollo takes on the characteristics of a typical young student of the wise teacher Chiron, a Jason or an Achilles; he is here a young man in love.[36] Given the vivid colonial coloring of the poem, however, the characterization of Apollo has much more depth. In asking Chiron for advice, Apollo

assumes the role of a young man seeking information from the Delphic oracle, information that may lead to the foundation of a new colony.

Several scholars have already remarked upon the Delphic nature of Chiron's response.[37] His opening words, for example, about the "hidden keys of wise Peitho's loves" are typically enigmatic. The context of competition also supports the Delphic reading of this passage; Chiron's enigmatic response is offered genially as his entry in a contest of cunning (μῆτιν ἐάν/ εὐθὺς ἀμείβετο, 38–39). He describes Apollo's prophetic powers in terms of nature's limitlessness:

> κύριον ὃς πάντων τέλος
> οἶσθα καὶ πάσας κελεύθους·
> ὅσσα τε χθὼν ἠρινὰ φύλλ' ἀναπέμπει, χὠπόσαι
> ἐν θαλάσσᾳ καὶ ποταμοῖς ψάμαθοι
> κύμασιν ῥιπαῖς τ' ἀνέμων κλονέονται,
> χὤ τι μέλλει, χὠπόθεν
> ἔσσεται, εὖ καθορᾷς.
>
> You who know the proper end of all things and all ways: as many spring leaves as the ground sends up, and as many sands as, in the sea and in rivers, are disturbed by waves and gusts of wind, and what will happen, and whence it will be, you know well. (44–49)

This speech with its oblique use of metaphor and abstraction evokes the famous oracle delivered to Croesus in which the Pythia describes her omniscience as knowledge of the quantity of sands in the desert and the measure of the sea.[38]

In addition to being enigmatically "Delphic," both the structure and the content of the exchange between Chiron and Apollo are familiar from our reading of colonial tales. Future colonists consulted the Delphic oracle about a noncolonial matter, often about marriage or children, but were told in reponse to found a Greek city overseas.[39] This is exactly the kind of question that Apollo puts to Chiron; he asks if it is permitted for him to have sexual relations with Cyrene. Chiron's responds that yes, he may, and he predicts that the union will culminate both in the foundation of a new city and in the birth of a new son. In addition, as Chiron begins his "oracular response," he first repeats Apollo's question:

> κούρας δ' ὁπόθεν γενεάν
> ἐξερωτᾷς, ὦ ἄνα;
>
> You ask about the family of this girl, O lord? (43–44)

Repetition of the question in the first line of the response is a stylistic device common to many surviving Delphic oracles.[40] In fact, one of the responses that Herodotus preserves for us about the founding of Cyrene begins similarly, "Battus, you have come on account of your voice."

Most colonists were young men; they would consult the Delphic oracle about the important events of their lives, and they were advised to found colonies on foreign soil. The style of Chiron's speech shares many characteristics with this type of oracle received by Greek colonists. The interesting aspect of Chiron's prophecy to Apollo is that the god is not told to found a colony in the place of a response about

children or marriage. Rather, the act of marriage and that of founding a new colony are one and the same. Within the content of the prophecy itself, Pindar also includes specific allusions to the colonization of Cyrene. Chiron tells Apollo that he will bear Cyrene to the exquisite garden of Zeus. There he will make her the foundress of the city together with "an island people:"

> ταύτᾳ πόσις ἵκεο βᾶσσαν
> τάνδε, καὶ μέλλεις ὑπὲρ πόντου
> Διὸς ἔξοχον ποτὶ κᾶπον ἐνεῖκαι·
> ἔνθα νιν ἀρχέπολιν θήσεις, ἐπὶ λαὸν ἀγείραις
> νασιώταν ὄχθον ἐς ἀμφίπεδον·
>
> You have come to this glen as a bridegroom for this girl, and you will bear her across the sea to a choice garden of Zeus and there you will make her foundress, having gathered a host of island people to a hill surrounded by a plain. (51–55)[41]

It is clear that these island people are the Theraeans, the Greek founders of Cyrene.[42] Furthermore, when Chiron predicts that Cyrene will receive a portion of land to be rightfully hers (55–58), Pindar's language calls to mind the tradition of dividing up allotments of land among the colonists once they mark out the site for their new city.

Within the epinican context of *Pythian* 9, Pindar blends two different traditions—the Hesiodic tradition about a nymph Cyrene and the colonial legend of Cyrene's foundation—into a kind of narrative pun that appropriates a Libyan city's name and reinterprets it within a Greek poetic tradition of rape. This narrative double entendre is reinforced on the linguistic level with another example of the kind of wordplay characteristic of Greek colonial discourse. Once Chiron completes his prophecy to Apollo, Pindar resumes the narrative in his own voice to make the transition from the mythological past back to the contemporary occasion, the victory of Telesicrates. He first remarks that "the ways of the gods are swift" when they put their minds to a task; the marriage of Apollo and Cyrene was consummated on that very day:

> θαλάμῳ δὲ μίγεν
> ἐν πολυχρύσῳ Λιβύας· ἵνα καλλίσταν πόλιν
> ἀμφέπει κλεινάν τ' ἀέθλοις.
> καί νυν ἐν Πυθῶνί νιν ἀγαθέᾳ Καρνειάδα
> υἱὸς εὐθαλεῖ συνέμειξε τύχᾳ·
>
> He [Apollo] mingled with her in the very gold bedchamber of Libya, where she [Cyrene] is guardian of a most beautiful city and one famous in contests. Even now at Pytho, the son of Carneiades commingled her with beautifully blossoming luck. (68–72)

As a result, Cyrene rules a most beautiful city (καλλίσταν), famous for its athletes, and Telesicrates celebrates this most beautiful city and its beautiful eponymous foundress in victory. As we noted earlier, Pindar likes to take advantage of the proper name Cyrene, which can denote both a nymph and a city. The poet uses the

ambiguous feminine pronoun (νιν) again here, as in the beginning of the poem, to effect a transition back from the myth to the victory celebration. This passage, however, does more than provide Pindar with a clever poetic transition; it links the three thematic motifs of the poem: marriage, victory, and colonization.

First, Cyrene will rule a most beautiful city. This is especially appropriate for a nymph who, as Hesiod tells us, is beautiful and who, in fact, gets her beauty from the Graces themselves (Χαρίτων ἄπο κάλλος ἔχουσα). The city is beautiful because the nymph is beautiful; they have the same name. Pindar here nods briefly to his Hesiodic source and reinforces the mythological connection a few lines later when he describes Telesicrates' homeland as full of beautiful women (καλλιγύναικι πάτρᾳ, 74). There is an inherent connection between the beauty of the city's foundress and the continued beauty of its female occupants.

But Pindar suggests another reason for the beauty of the city—Cyrene is beautiful because the colony is descended from the most beautiful city of all, Callista. Herodotus tells us that it was colonists from the island of Thera who settled Cyrene. Thera's name, however, was originally Callista. After settling there, the Spartan founder, Theras, changed the name and called the island after himself, Thera.[43] The people from this island then colonized Cyrene. Pindar, himself, is aware of this tradition, for in *Pythian* 4, he, too, refers to the island settled by the Lacedaemonians as Callista:

> τόθι γὰρ γένος Εὐφάμου φυτευθὲν λοιπὸν αἰεί
> τέλλετο· καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων μιχθέντες ἀνδρῶν
> ἵθεσιν ἔν ποτε Καλλίσταν ἀπῴκησαν χρόνῳ
> νᾶσον·
>
> For then it was that the race of Euphemus was sown forever, and they mixed with the Lacedaemonian race and in time colonized the island of Callista. (256–59)[44]

In the *Pythian* 9 passage that concludes the myth of Apollo and Cyrene's colonial marriage, Pindar describes Cyrene as a "most beautiful city" (καλλίσταν) and plays on the original name of the colonizing city of Cyrene, Callista.

We have already seen what a strong role ambiguous language plays in the colonial narrative as well as in other epinician odes of Pindar. Most commonly associated with Apollo and the Delphic oracle, colonial puns and riddles provide the Greeks with a compact way to infuse their foundation account with multiple levels of meaning, and Pindar's use of the Callista pun in *Pythian* 9 is best understood in this context of colonial discourse. For comparative purposes, we can take a look at a colonial oracle from the foundation tradition of the Parian colony of Thasos, which hinges upon wordplay very similar to that of the Callista pun.[45] Telesicles, the poet Archilochus' father, receives the following oracle from Delphi:

> ἄγγειλον Παρίοις, Τελεσίκλεες, ὥς σε κελεύω
> νήσῳ ἐν Ἠερίῃ κτίζειν εὐδείελον ἄστυ.[46]

There are two different ways to translate this oracle. We can follow Parke and Wormell:

> Announce to the Parians, Telesicles, that I bid you found a conspicuous city in the island of Eeria.[47]

Or we can be more literal in our translation:

> Announce to the Parians, Telesicles, that I bid you found a sunny city on the misty island.

The ambiguity stems from the fact that the island which the Parians colonized and subsequently named Thasos was originally called Eeria ('Ηερίη), or Greek for "misty."[48] The oracle deliberately calls attention to the literal meaning of 'Ηερίη because of the adjective chosen to refer to the city that will be founded. It is εὐδείελον, a meteorological term that means exposed to the sun, or sunny, the very opposite of ἠερίη, misty.[49]

This is exactly the kind of wordplay that Pindar incorporates into *Pythian* 9 with his pun on Callista; he exploits the literal meaning of the precolonial proper name of the island. Furthermore, keeping in mind the larger epinician context of this etymology, we realize that by creating a colonial pun of this type, Pindar is able to unite the Hesiodic tradition of the beautiful nymph, Cyrene, with the colonial tradition which says that men from Thera, formerly Callista, settled the city.[50] Cyrene rules a most beautiful city and one famous in athletic contests. It is this precise phrase that marks the point of transition from the mythological section of the poem to Pindar's contemporary goal of praising the Pythian victory of Telesicrates. Consequently, through the wordplay on Callista, Pindar is able to merge the three different poetic programs that he has been skillfully juggling up to this point: the praise of the Pythian victor, the Hesiodic tale of the marriage of Apollo and Cyrene, and the colonial narrative of Cyrene's foundation by the Theraeans.

A substantial focus of *Pythian* 9 is Cyrene's role as the eponymous foundress of the Libyan city. Her beauty explains why the city of Cyrene is the most beautiful and how it came to be famous for its beautiful maidens. Her athletic prowess motivates the colonization itself, and it accounts for the city's subsequent glory in athletic competitions both at home and abroad.[51] In both these fundamental respects, Telesicrates resembles Cyrene. He is an extremely successful athlete, and his physical beauty causes women of all ages to desire him. In addition, Cyrene's marriage to Apollo, a union of nymph and god, becomes a model for Telesicrates' homecoming reunion, his reintegration into the Cyrenean community upon returning home victorious from Delphi. Finally, the specifically colonial nature of the marriage of Apollo and Cyrene adds a new dimension to the praise of the victor, for the fame and importance of Cyrene as city founder extends to the Pythian victor, Telesicrates. We have seen how Pindar develops this same comparison in *Pythian* 5 and *Olympian* 7 between the founder and the Panhellenic victor. So here, too, Pindar emphasizes the similarities between Cyrene and Telesicrates; each brings fame to the city of Cyrene from Pythian Apollo and Delphi.

Pindar closes the ode with yet another marriage—one which unites within the rhetorical bonds of holy matrimony both victory and the cross-cultural contact that is born of colonization. When King Antaeus decides to marry his beautiful daughter to one of her many suitors, he recalls the similar situation of Danaus of Argos, who held an athletic contest and married forty-eight daughters. So, too, Antaeus

holds a race and gives his daughter in marriage to the Greek victor, Alexidamus. Thus Pindar embeds within a description of one Greco-Libyan marriage an allusion to the Danaids born into a family famous for its hybrid, Greco-Egyptian heritage. Descended from the "founding rapes" of Zeus and Io and Poseidon and Libya, the Danaids' own flight from Egypt to Argos to seek protection from their suitor cousins reverses Io's earlier maddened migration from Greece to Egypt. Significantly, in each generation, it is the women in this family who move back and forth from Greece to Egypt—a mediating force, they are the source of contact between the two cultures.[52]

Thus the final myth of *Pythian* 9, the marriage of Alexidamus to a Libyan bride, introduced as yet another source of praise for his descendant Telesicrates, picks up the complicated themes of marriage and colonization that Pindar weaves into this victory ode. Marriage maps out the common ground occupied by a Greek colonial tale and the commemoration of Panhellenic victory, an occasion for the continued celebration of Cyrene's civic (and Greek) identity. The final, victorious marriage that unites a Greek athlete and Libyan woman, a union anticipated and legitimated by the symbolic, colonial marriage of Apollo and Cyrene, caps the celebration of Teleiscrates' victory for Cyrene at the Pythian games. Because of their innately civic orientation, colonial legends have a powerful rhetorical impact in epinician poetry—Pindar's victory odes are, in fact, civic celebrations, and he appropriates themes and metaphors from colonial discourse and invests them with epinician significance. *Pythian* 9 reveals the extent to which the Panhellenic games function as part of a larger arena in which Greek and native compete to define Cyrene's civic identity.

Notes

1. The complete text of the poem and a translation can be found in the Appendix.

2. For discussion of the victory catalogue and how this section fits in with the rest of the ode, see Rose 1931; Bundy 1962 pp. 17–18; Burton 1962; Peron 1976; Kirkwood 1981.

3. For a discussion of the marriage imagery in *Pythian* 9, see Woodbury 1972; Carson 1982; Köhnken 1985; Stoddart 1990 pp. 62–67; Kurke 1991 pp. 172–80. For broader, more general discussions of the institution and ideology of marriage, see Collignon 1904 pp. 1639–54; Wolf 1944; Redfield 1982; Vernant 1988; Oakley and Sinos 1993. On wedding songs, see Hague 1983.

4. Carson 1982 pp. 121–25. Köhnken 1985 pp. 97–98 also argues for the analogy between victory and marriage in this poem.

5. Stoddart (1990 pp. 62–67) argues that the transfer of Cyrene from her clan to that of Apollo, with Chiron acting as her legal guardian, lies behind the use of marriage imagery in *Pythian* 9. Pindar alludes to the ritual of the ἐγγύη in the proem of *Olympian* 7 as well. For the importance of this ritual for Greek marriage, see Collignon 1904 pp. 1640–42; Wolf 1944 pp. 51–53; Vernant 1988 pp. 55–77; Oakley and Sinos 1993.

6. Cf. Collignon 1904 p. 1651 on ἀγωγή; Oakley and Sinos 1993 on wedding processions.

7. Cf. lines 118–20. The characterization of Alexidamus grasping the bride by the hand calls to mind the iconographical tradition of representing the groom with his hand upon the bride's wrist (χεῖρ ἐπὶ καρπῷ) on vase paintings of wedding processions. See note 26 for bibliography.

8. Cf. line 11 where Aphrodite welcomes the bridal couple. On the significance of δέχομαι for the analogue between victory and marriage, see Köhnken 1985 pp. 96–97. Heath 1988 argues for δέχομαι as evidence of the reception motif, receiving the κῶμος, in Pindar.

9. Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 5.27–29, where Carrhotus, the charioteer, brings back (ἄγων) Victory, obviously like a bride, instead of Excuse, the daughter of Latethinking. Köhnken 1985 p. 107, commenting on line 118, observes that the bride and victory appear to be identical.

10. Burton (1962 p. 59) sees a reference to the φυλλοβολία here; the ritual of showering the victor with leaves is depicted on a vase by Oltus, see Richter (1958) fig. 35; see also Paus. 6.7.3. Carson (1982 pp. 123–24), however, argues that these lines do more than refer to the φυλλοβολία ceremony celebrating a victorious athlete. "Pindar allows Alexidamus' victory and his marriage to converge; upon the φυλλοβολία is projected a rite of καταχύσματα in the rich image that ends the poem." See Collignon 1904 p. 1652 and Oakley and Sinos 1993 on καταχύσματα.

11. Carson 1982 p. 124.

12. Pind. *Pyth.* 5.51: ἀταρβεῖ φρενί.

13. For μόχθος, cf. Pind. *Ol.* 8.7; *Ol.* 10.93; *Pyth.* 2.30; *Nem.* 5.48; *Nem.* 8.31; *Isthm.* 1.46.

14. For γεύεται, cf. Pind. *Nem.* 3.42; *Nem.* 6.24; *Isthm.* 1.21; *Isthm.* 5.20. Pindar also uses epinician language to describe the calm peace (εἰρήναν) that Cyrene provides for her father's cattle as a result of her athletic encounters; for εἰρήνη, cf. *Nem.* 1.69; *Ol.* 13.7.

15. Carson 1982 p. 128.

16. Kurke 1991 pp. 159–80 shows how the image of marriage in its social context as a unifying contract between two different households is an appropriate metaphor for the epinician contract as well. It works as part of a larger system of gift exchange between two houses. In the proem of Pind. *Ol.* 7, for example, the marriage simile implies a bond between poet and patron that is comparable to that of those related by marriage. See also Brown 1984; he argues that both the bride and the victory ode function as gifts that provide immortality—a bride through children, an ode through poetry.

17. For various other readings of the first four lines of the poem, see Farnell 1930 vol. 2 p. 202; Bundy 1962 pp. 20–21; Kirkwood 1982 p. 222; Köhnken 1985 p. 71.

18. For this transition from nature to culture, see Robbins 1978 pp. 97–100; Kirkwood 1981 p. 222; Carson 1982 pp. 124–28; Woodbury 1982 pp. 251–54; Kurke 1991 p. 174.

19. Cyrene is related to Oceanus through her father Hypseus, who is his grandson. Pindar borrows this Cyrene myth from Hesiod, and it is interesting to note that while Hesiod describes Cyrene's relation to Peneus as geographical (she used to live beside the Peneus river), Pindar makes the relationship a genealogical one. See Robbins 1978 p. 94.

20. For Artemis' cult title: Hom. *Il.* 21.471; Bacch. 5.123; 11.37. Cf. Carey 1981 p. 68. As Fraenkel (1973 pp. 442–43 n. 4) has observed, the description of Cyrene here is also evocative of Atalanta, esp. in Theognis 1287–94. Such a resonance is particularly appropriate given the marriage competition in the final myth of *Pythian* 9.

21. Cf. Oakley and Sinos 1993. Artemis is most often named as the recipient of *proteleia*, offerings conceptualized as compensation paid to Artemis for the bride's upcoming marriage. The bride must have Artemis' consent; the Callisto myth suggests what happens without it. See also Sourvinou-Inwood 1987a pp. 141–47 on the connections between Artemis and marriage. See Vernant 1991 pp. 195–219 for a discussion of Artemis' role in Greek myth and cult, especially with respect to her role as intermediary between the wild and the civilized and for the important connections between hunting and sexuality.

22. See, for example, Winnington-Ingram 1969; Burton 1962 p. 44 notes that nowhere else does Pindar use such precise visual images; he suggests that the imagery was generated

by the outdoor setting of the scene; Köhnken 1985 discusses the issue at length and reads the scene in the light of the "Seduction of Zeus" in Book 14 of the *Iliad*. Carey 1981 p. 76 refuses to see any hint of violence in this passage.

23. Sappho F 105a and c L-P.

24. Anne Burnett has suggested to me that there might also be an allusion here to the cutting of hair as part of initiation rites. Cyrene is thus characterized (in addition to being described as a hunter) as a young man about to cross over into manhood. As often in Pindar, I think we can (and must) have it all ways—death, initiation, and ravishment are all a part of the broad semantic range of κείρω, and all can be equally present in our reading of its use in this particular context.

25. Chiron's response has provoked as much critical controversy as Apollo's question, if not more. First of all, what is Chiron doing here? It is generally agreed that his appearance in the Apollo and Cyrene myth is a Pindaric innovation. Robbins 1978 argues that Chiron, an ambiguous figure himself, functions as a mediating force between nature and culture. Calame 1990 p. 306 prefers to see Chiron as a mediator between the savage wilds of Thessaly and the pastoral world of Apollo. Indeed, Cyrene, as we have seen, is closely allied with the elemental forces of nature; she inhabits a wild environment. Apollo, on the other hand, represents the process of civilization and cultivation of flocks and crops. Chiron brings the two together.

26. A red-figure skyphos signed by Makron and the potter Hieron (ARV^2 458,1 and 1654).. See Oakley and Sinos 1993 for a description of this vase. For more on the iconographical convention of "hand upon wrist," see Jenkins 1983; Sourvinou-Inwood 1987a; Oakley and Sinos 1993 pp. 79–81.

27. Cf. Zeitlin 1986 pp. 139–40 on the political connotations of persuasion with the Danaid myth and Redfield 1982 p. 198: "the power of Aphrodite is the power of persuasion." See also Seaford 1987 p. 114 n. 94.

28. Cf. Carey 1981 p. 81: "It is interesting to observe Pindar's softening of harsh historical fact; according to Herodotus (4.159), the Cyreneans carved out a large area of Libya by force; here Libya gives her land gladly." On p. 82, Carey highlights the legalistic language used to characterize Libya's gift of land to Cyrene.

29. Diod. 8.17.1. This oracle is cited and discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

30. Drachmann 1964 vol. 2 p. 221. Servius, in his commentary on the *Georgics* of Virgil (1.14), mentions that according to Hesiod, Apollo and Cyrene had a son, Aristaeus.

31. For discussion of the Cyrene episode in the Catalogue, see West 1985 pp. 85–89. Scholars who argue for Pindar's invention of the Thessalian nymph in Libya include Duchemin 1967 p. 59; Köhnken 1985 pp. 102–3.

32. Cyrene's battle with the lion is captured visually on a limestone relief on the treasury of the Cyreneans in Olympia which dates from the middle of the sixth century. Cf. Cosi 1987 pp. 132–33 who suggests that we interpret the iconography as well as the account in *Pythian* 9 as a "mythical sanction of the Greek colonisation of African territories." He thinks that Battus' confrontation with the lions is modelled on the more "ancient" tale of Cyrene: "As in a heroic tale of foundation a fight is almost necessary, there was chosen the fight with the lion which was well-adapted to Africa and already had an illustrious 'precedent.' Only the weapons are changed: whilst the nymph Cyrene kills the beast with her bare hands or with a lance, Battos chases it off with the power of his voice. The two opposite versions only show two alternative solutions to the same mythical process." Farnell 1930 vol. 1 pp. 137–39 provides a reprint of the limestone relief of Cyrene and the lion, as well as a second century C.E. relief on the temple of Aphrodite in Cyrene of the Goddess Libya crowning Cyrene as she strangles a lion, and a coin from the Greco-Roman period showing Apollo

bearing Cyrene overseas in a chariot drawn by swans. Shapiro 1988 includes Cyrene in his discussion of local personifications in Greek vase painting.

33. Pindar makes the connection between Battus and Cyrene and their respective battles with lions even clearer by emphasizing the element of fear. In *Pythian* 5, Apollo takes care that his oracles are not neutralized; he gives the lions fear (φόβῳ 60–62). In *Pythian* 9, Apollo remarks that Cyrene is equal to the task of fighting lions; her wits are not storm-tossed by fear (φόβῳ 32).

34. Steph. Byz s.v. Κυρήνη· πόλις Λιβύης. ἀπὸ Κυρήνης τοῦ Ὑψέως. ἡ Κύρης πηγῆς ἐγχωρίου. Both Pindar and Herodotus mention the spring at the center of the city; they call it the spring of Apollo. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.294; Hdt. 4.158.3.

35. Callim. *Ap.* 88–90 and see Williams' commentary 1978 *ad loc.* Topographical names are often formed with the suffix -ηνη as are Peirene, Mycene, and Mytilene; and Chamoux (1953 p. 126) argues that doublets of the type Κύρα/Κυρήνη are common. Other examples include Λέβα/Λεβήνη in Thrace and Σίδα/Σιδήνη in Caria. It is not unusual to find that these names derive from terms for geographical characteristics of the city, especially from names of plant or animal life. Cyrene's name fits with this observation because in Libyan, the word for asphodel, Cyrene's most famous product, is *cyra*. Therefore, the name Cyrene, in Libyan, would appropriately signify the city of asphodel.

36. Woodbury 1972 pp. 561–62; Burton 1962 p. 41.

37. Farnell 1930 vol. 2 p. 204; Köhnken 1985 p. 77. Gildersleeve 1890 p. 342 observes that "the oracular god, who has been speaking in oracular phrase, winds up with an oracular hexameter."

38. Hdt. 1.47:. οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψαμμοῦ τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης.

39. Myscellus of Rhype, we remember, asks Delphic Apollo if he will have children and is told to found the colony of Croton: Diod. 8.17 (exc. Vat. p. 9); see also Fontenrose 1978 Q.21 and his chart on p. 29.

40. Fontenrose 1978 pp. 177–78.

41. Another correspondence between this poem and *Pythian* 5, and especially between the two founders, is the idea of crossing the sea. Cf. ὑπερποντίαν used of Battus' voice at *Pyth.* 5.59 and ὑπὲρ πόντου used here of Cyrene's journey.

42. Duchemin 1967 p. 76 explains that this line is an allusion to the colonists who have come from Thera. Cf. also Kirkwood 1982 p. 226. He says this line "glances at the story, told in *Pyth.* 4, of the foundation of Cyrene from Thera under the guidance of Apollo."

43. Hdt. 4.147; cf. Paus. 3.1.7–8; 7.2.2; Strab. 8.3.19.

44. Note also here Pindar's use of agricultural imagery (φυτευθὲν) and sexual language (μιχθέντες) in a colonial context.

45. It is not necessary to argue that there actually was a colonial oracle in the Thera/Cyrene tradition that incorporated Pindar's Callista pun; nevertheless, this is the type of pun characteristic of colonization literature, and Pindar and his audience would be aware of its context and connotations.

46. Steph. Byz. s.v. Θάσος; Oenomaeus of Gadera in Eus. *Praep. Evang.* vii 256b. For detailed discussion of this oracle and its role in the colonial tradition of Thasos, see Graham 1978 pp. 75–80.

47. Parke and Wormell 1956 vol. 2 #230; vol. 1 p. 66.

48. Graham 1978 pp. 76–77 quotes Oenomaus' comments on the oracle, which include the remark attributed to Archilochus that Thasos was formerly called Eeria; cf. Tarditi 1968 p. 246.

49. Cf. *LSJ* s.v. εὐδείελον, II "open to the sun, sunny," and ἠέριος, II "misty, dimly seen." See also Malkin 1987a p. 39.

50. Pelliccia 1989 p. 93 includes this passage in his discussion of the syntax of aetiologies but fails to notice the "aetiological" pun.

51. Köhnken 1985 p. 94.

52. Marriage within this family, however, is not only hybrid but also violent, and in this respect as well reflects the violence inherent in cross-cultural contact. Starting from the rape of Io, this tendency is perhaps most strikingly characterized by the Danaids themselves, who stab their husbands in their marriage beds and thus subvert the traditional shedding of blood by the bride on her wedding night.

Conclusion: Interpreting the Metaphors

> Metaphor is, at its simplest, a way of proceeding from the known to the unknown. It is a way of cognition in which the identifying qualities of one thing are transferred in an instantaneous, almost unconscious, flash of insight to some other thing that is by remoteness or complexity, unknown to us.
>
> (Robert A. Nisbet, *Social Change and History*)

When faced with the task of describing brave new worlds and their settlements in them, the Greek colonists rely upon flashes of insight—metaphors; they use a comparable but familiar image, institution, or concept to approximate and appropriate that which is new and indescribable. We, then, in our attempt to learn about the archaic colonization movement can explore the tales the Greeks tell about founding colonies in an effort to unpack their colonial metaphors. Purification for murder, the solution to a riddle, marriage, and athletic victory all help the Greeks represent aspects of leaving home and settling foreign territory; they are ways of proceeding from the known to the unknown. Now is the time to ask if we can reconcile these different conceptual models with each other. More important, what does each particular metaphor add to our overall understanding of how Greeks remembered colonization?

Let us begin with the model of murder and purification. For a murderer to be freed of pollution, he must go into exile for a year, and Delphic Apollo oversees this punishment. A colonist, often driven from home by natural or political disaster, also consults Delphic Apollo about founding a new city overseas. In fact, many colonial traditions preserve the unlikely story that their founder was a murderer who had to flee his homeland. At this point, the murderer's exile overlaps with the start of a colonial expedition and thereby establishes a conceptual framework to describe colonization. The Apollo who purifies becomes the Apollo who colonizes; the murderer assumes the role of founder. Plato clarifies this connection between colonization and a murderer's purification through exile by characterizing the impetus for both in the same terms—as a process of division. Colonization thus operates as a euphemism for purging the city of its undesirable elements.

This model of murder-pollution-purification addresses several different anxieties within the colonial process. First, it modulates a city's unease about expelling part of its population for the greater good of those who remain by describing it as part of a religious system that first identifies a group as polluted and then, through

exile, transforms that group into a positive source of power. The emphasis is not on the problem, the source of pollution, but on the solution, the source of power. The account of Tlepolemus as both murderer and founder of Rhodes embedded within *Olympian* 7 dramatizes the conceptual similarities between founding a colony and being purified for murder. Both founder and murderer consult Delphic Apollo, and each is sent from home to settle new territory. The religious power that the murderer, once purified, wields is transferred to the new city as murderer becomes founder. As part of his new role as founder, the murderer is celebrated as a civic hero—buried in the agora, honored with annual games and sacrifices. As the paradigmatic myth of an epinician ode, the account of murderer-turned-founder resonates further in praise of a victorious athlete. In *Olympian* 7, Pindar maps the founder-as-murderer model onto his song for the young boxer victorious at Olympia and suggests that Diagoras provides a source of power and fame to his native land not unlike that of Tlepolemus. Murderer, founder, and athlete each transgresses the customary boundaries of mortal behavior; as a result each brings extraordinary power to his city.

In addition, this purificatory model addresses the warlike violence that was an inevitable part of settling foreign territory. Thucydides tells us that a colonial expedition was no different from a major military venture; a great display of force was needed for both. The destructive force that must have been part of the initial act of settlement is rarely mentioned in colonial myths or legends. Archeological and historical evidence, however, show that hostile confrontations between Greek colonists and native inhabitants must have taken place, and we can detect hints of a level of discomfort with this violence as the motivation behind the purification model for describing colonization. The violence of conquering native populations is displaced onto the murder committed by the founder and thus is given, within the colonial tale, a ritual format in which it can be expiated.

Delphic Apollo provides the Greeks with another colonial metaphor as well; founding a colony is reenacted and represented through the act of solving a bilingual, punning riddle. The Delphic oracle is famous for its ambiguous language, in particular for riddles and puns, and the duality of a bilingual, etymological pun allows the Greek colonists to reinterpret local phenomena in Greek terms. Pindar, for example, includes in *Pythian* 1 a bilingual pun to explain the local name of a river near Aetna, the city that Hieron founded. The indigenous name Amenes is translated into Greek to mean "to remain always." The wordplay provides a Greek interpretation of a foreign place-name, and the particular Greek translation underscores the enduring nature of the Greek rights to the land.

Bilingual colonial riddles provide the mechanism for a kind of cultural translation, or more accurately, a kind of cultural appropriation, and in this way, they represent the contact the Greek colonists had with local populations and the results of that contact. Indigenous populations are another missing piece of the colonial puzzle, for although we know the Greeks came in contact with local peoples, they do not record any such interaction explicitly in their foundation narratives. Bilingual riddles, however, are linguistic proof of this cross-cultural contact, and they reflect the terms upon which it was negotiated. The Greeks win the rights to the new land by solving the puzzle that demands a Greek word for a local phenomenon. Colo-

nization is not limited to transplanting populations and building cities on foreign land; it includes supplanting native speech as well. For language, that is, the language of the colonist, is the sign of culture and civilization. Confrontation with foreign peoples who speak a different tongue demands strategies for dealing with such linguistic and cultural conflict. One approach is to deny the native language's existence as language per se—the natives are wild and savage; they cannot communicate at all. Another strategy is translation. The indigenous populations do not speak an absolutely different language; it is merely a matter of translating their words into those familiar to the colonists. This ostensibly innocent act of translation, however, represents a concomitant transfer of power. To give something a name is to stake out one's ownership of it—it is a kind of colonization.

In addition to its representation of a linguistic imperialism, a colonial tale that includes an enigmatic oracle mimics, on a linguistic level, the act of founding a colony on foreign soil. Founding a Greek colony overseas requires the proper distribution of the key elements of Greek civic life in an unfamiliar setting. The colonists divide up their new territory and establish the obligatory boundaries between civic, sacred, and private space. The act of solving a riddle involves a similar process—the recognition and distribution of the proper divisions between intellectual categories. Thus the historical process, inherent in establishing a colony, of imposing a sense of civic order on foreign land is reflected in the mental act of solving the riddle. Again, this particular colonial metaphor addresses the problem of Greek confiscation of foreign land; it represses the military might of the colonists and substitutes for it their intellectual prowess. In the end, colonial riddles highlight the interpretive skills of the colonists; they celebrate a Greek solution to a foreign puzzle, and for these reasons, they surface again and again in colonial discourse.

The purifying role and the ambiguous oracular language of Delphic Apollo provide the Greeks with two different conceptual models with which to tell the colonial story. Although very different in nature, both metaphors reflect a similar way of thinking about colonization. A murderer and a punning riddle are both by nature ambiguous entities; each contains its own opposite, and precisely because neither is static, each provides within itself the possibility for movement, transition, and transformation. A murderer is a source of pollution and danger, but once purified, he also brings power and advantage. A riddle is a puzzle that contains its own solution. Both the pollution that a murderer brings and an unsolved riddle represent a state of chaos, a confusion of categories. What is needed in each case is an act of interpretation or discrimination—to rediscover the proper boundaries between categories as a way to move from chaos to a state of order. In this respect, the purification of a murderer through exile and the solution of a riddle both represent that interpretive movement.

In an article on Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*, Jean-Pierre Vernant draws a similar connection between the ambiguity of oracular language and that of a polluted murderer. Oedipus, Vernant suggests, is both.[1] The model works on the principle of inversion; it demands what Vernant calls an "ambiguous logic," and it is this principle that governs Greek colonial discourse as well. A murderer and a riddle include both the problem and the solution, and as narrative units they contain the mechanism for moving from one to the other. Colonization is the product of social

crisis in archaic Greece, of famine, drought, overpopulation, or civil war. Yet this very same institution, even as it effects a second displacement of peoples in the new world, creates a new city and provokes the kind of polyvalent discourse that can address and resolve the tensions and anxieties that overseas settlement produces.

In *Pythian* 9, Pindar exploits yet another metaphor of colonization—that of marriage—which presents a very different model for conceptualizing Greco-indigenous relations, an integrative one. In a mythological alternative to the Battus narrative of *Pythian* 5, Pindar tells the story of the founding of Cyrene as the marriage of Apollo and Cyrene. Their marriage describes overseas settlement as the harmonious union of opposites—one people where once there were two—yet this union is achieved only through an act of violence. Apollo forcibly takes the wild and savage huntress from her home and establishes her as the fruitful mistress of a new city in Libya, named for her. Their marriage is a productive one; it creates both a son, destined to be immortal, and a new city, blessed with fertile fields and rich flocks. Marriage, as the Greeks conceive of it, means taming the female, converting the wild into something fruitful and productive, and this process can be violent; it means plowing earth, plucking fruit, trampling flowers. In the same way, settling foreign land is an act of violence, a military venture, but from this violence comes the fruitful product of civilization, a new Greek city. While the metaphor of purification for murder represents colonization as the expulsion of a portion of the population from the mother city for the good of those who remain, the metaphor of marriage describes the act of settlement as an equally violent but ultimately civilizing process. Yet both metaphors, murder and marriage, in spite of their different orientations, address an underlying anxiety of colonization—the displacement of peoples, both at home and abroad; in addition, both metaphors suggest that colonization is an act that requires the spilling of blood.

Finally, Pindar suggests that founding a colony is similar to winning an athletic victory. In addition to using the metaphors of murder purification and marriage, Pindar describes the deeds and rewards of athlete and founder in comparable terms. This becomes especially clear in *Pythian* 5, where he constructs his song of praise for Arcesilaus around the implicit similarities between the careers of oikist and Panhellenic victor. Each runs risks and through his individual effort brings worldwide fame to his native city; each receives the immortal fame of a hero cult. By evoking tales of city founders, the epinician poet is able to link the victor with his native city in never-ending praise, and Pindar's poetry, a civic celebration in itself, may account to a large degree for the continued survival of many colonization traditions. Our brief look at Hieron of Aetna's multimedia production has given us some idea of how powerful choral poetry can be as a public forum for renegotiating and reenacting a city's civic origins. By incorporating colonial material into the social context of the epinician genre, Pindar creates an occasion for the composition and performance of foundation tales.

While this kind of approach—the identification and elaboration of a narrative pattern and cultural metaphors within the colonial discourse of the Greeks—may not produce a totalizing picture of the Greeks as they sent founding expeditions far and wide, it does provide insight into how the memory of colonization functioned within the Greek *mentalité* long after the cities themselves were founded. By

reconstructing a typology of the colonial narrative and exploring its variants, we can see that colonization is "emplotted" not as the ambitious discovery of the new world (as we might expect), but as a reluctant but necessary movement from a state of crisis to its resolution. In addition, each of these colonial metaphors provides us with a glimpse behind the narrative, a view of the anxieties and concerns that are necessarily part of founding new Greek cities on foreign soil. In considering these metaphors separately and in exploring how they work together, we see that certain themes recur. Colonization was a violent act; it brought Greeks into contact with foreign populations, and it was the province of Delphic Apollo. Apollo plays a key role in the colonial drama—whether as purifying deity, enigmatic prophet, sponsor of the Pythian games, or even as bridegroom, Delphic Apollo comes to represent, or at least helps the Greeks to represent, the process of founding a colony overseas.

In addition to helping colonists understand the new world in terms of familiar institutions and ways of thought, metaphor as narrative trope is itself emblematic of the colonial experience. Metaphor, as Patricia Parker has pointed out, depends upon "the notion of 'place'—of territory already staked out, of the tropological as inseparable from the topological—and thus also of 'property' or of a place where a word properly belongs."[2] Aristotle, for example, explains that a metaphor is the application of a strange (ἀλλότριος) word transferred from one category to another (either from the genus to the species or from the species to the genus, or from one species to another) by analogy.[3] Cicero and Quintilian also talk about metaphor in terms of a foreign word (alienum verbum) displacing the native or proper (proprium) one, and their definitions could just as easily apply to the kinds of colonial tales that rename a local city in the Greek language.[4] The local name of the city Gela, we remember, is suitably replaced by a Greek verb of laughter (γελάω), just as the native populations are similarly displaced by the speakers of this foreign language. The essence of metaphor, then, like that of colonization, negotiates a relationship between the native and the foreign, a relationship that ultimately takes the power of place from the former and deeds it to the latter.

Metaphor itself is thus figured as the foreigner or colonist usurping the name and place previously occupied by the native or proper term: metaphor lives in "a borrowed home."[5] Quintilian justifies this verbal displacement by explaining that "a metaphor ought to occupy an empty place or, if it does take over the place of something else, it should be worth more than that which it expels."[6] This description of metaphor calls to mind the strategies used by European and Greek colonists alike to justify their alien presence in the new world. Either the colonial land was formerly empty or its new occupants were worth more—they work harder, have a better language, a better god—than those previously living there. Cicero similarly acknowledges the violence or impropriety of metaphor when he suggests that if a metaphor appears too harsh, it should be softened. "In fact the metaphor ought to have an apologetic air, so as to appear to have entered a place that does not belong to it with a proper introduction, not to have rushed in, and (to have come) by invitation, not by force."[7] Greek colonial tales similarly downplay the violence of colonization and enlist rhetorical strategies that will soften the blow—the colonists were invited to stay forever (day and night); their presence is merely a return or an act of civilization as natural and as productive as ploughing a field.

Metaphor, one word colonizing another's space, helps the Greeks negotiate their place in an alien environment—both in trying to understand the new world and in staking out a place for themselves in that world. Thus, we can view the metaphorical impulse as the first step toward recognizing the important similarities between colonization and ethnography—two projects engaged in cultural translation. When the Greeks settled Sicily, Libya, or the shores of the Black Sea, they encountered alien landscapes, new peoples, foreign languages and cultures. In addition to the necessary adjustment and transition inherent in learning how to live a different life or, more important, in learning how to live a Greek life in a different place, an important part of the colonial experience is the subsequent description of it. The Greeks must translate the local phenomena and customs that define their new home into the Greek language and idiom, and in constructing literary accounts of these new civic foundations, they become ethnographers. They employ the language and images that are part of their own Greek heritage in an effort to make sense (both to themselves and to others) of what happens when they send military expeditions out to conquer native peoples and settle their land. By translating experience into text, the ethnographic project reenacts and ultimately reconfirms the colonial one. Long after the colonization movement itself is over, the colonial tale, embedded in important poetic genres and performed as part of significant civic occasions, enables the Greeks to continue to colonize the past and to establish themselves as the imperial power in that cultural memory.[8]

And we, too, are colonizers of the past, for our task—learning about ancient civilizations in general and about archaic Greek colonial discourse in particular—is not so very different from that of the postcolonial Greeks. There is after all a close affinity between the relationship of critic to text, colonizer to local peoples, anthropologist to subject. In trying to comprehend and ultimately to describe or represent a foreign culture, we are both engaged, critics and colonists alike, in the act of interpretation.[9] In "speaking for" the Greeks, in translating their experience into our text, we must acknowledge what James Clifford calls the "partial truths" of our own construction of the past. He suggests that as ethnographers, we need "to confront and take responsibility for our systematic constructions of others and of ourselves through others."[10] In other words, we must realize that in moving from the known to the unknown, we too use one set of cultural metaphors to interpret another.

Notes

1. Vernant 1988 p. 139.
2. Parker 1987 p. 36.
3. Arist. *Poet.* 1457b7.
4. Cic. *De Oratore* III.xxxviii.155: "Quod enim declarari vix verbo *proprio* potest, id translato cum est dictum, illustrat id quod intellegi volumus eius rei quam *alieno* verbo posuimus similitudo." See also III.xxxix.159; xlii.167. Quintilian VIII.vi.5.
5. C. C. Dumarsais: "*il est,* pour ainsi dire, *dans une demeure empruntée*" (cited in Parker 1987 p. 38).
6. Quint. VIII.vi.18: "Metaphora enim aut vacantem occupare locum debet aut, si in alienum venit, plus valere eo quod expellet."

7. Cic. *De Oratore* III.xli.165: "enim verecunda debet esse translatio, ut deducta esse in alienum locum, non irruisse atque ut precario, non vi venisse videatur."

8. For discussions of the relationship between anthropology and colonialism, see Asad 1973; Lewis 1973; Firth et al. 1977.

9. See Redfield 1985 for a discussion of Herodotus and the Greeks as ethnographers: "His book is a contribution to the continuing cultural debate of the Greeks—and, implicitly, a praise of the civilization which made that debate possible. Hitherto (to paraphrase Marx) the peoples had only attempted to change the world; the Greeks, however, also found it necessary to interpret it" (p. 118). Mohanty 1989, in an essay on cultural relativism and political criticism, discusses these issues of "cultural translation" for the critic, anthropologist, and colonist. Todorov 1984 pp. 14–33 characterizes Columbus, discoverer of the New World, as an interpreter as well.

10. Clifford 1986b p. 121. On p. 10, he reminds us: "'Cultures' do not hold still for their portraits. Attempts to make them do so always involve simplification and exclusion, selection of a temporal focus, the construction of a particular self-other relationship, and the imposition or negotiation of a power relationship."

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Appendix

Pythian 5

A

Ὁ πλοῦτος εὐρυσθενής,
ὅταν τις ἀρετᾷ κεκραμένον καθαρᾷ
βροτήσιος ἀνὴρ πότμου παραδόντος αὐτὸν ἀνάγῃ
πολύφιλον ἐπέταν.
ὦ θεόμορ' Ἀρκεσίλα,
σύ τοί νιν κλυτᾶς
αἰῶνος ἀκρᾶν βαθμίδων ἄπο
σὺν εὐδοξίᾳ μετανίσεαι
ἕκατι χρυσαρμάτου Κάστορος·
εὐδίαν ὃς μετὰ χειμέριον ὄμβρον τεάν
καταιθύσσει μάκαιραν ἑστίαν.

σοφοὶ δέ τοι κάλλιον
φέροντι καὶ τὰν θεόσδοτον δύναμιν.
σὲ δ' ἐρχόμενον ἐν δίκᾳ πολὺς ὄλβος ἀμφινέμεται·
τὸ μέν, ὅτι βασιλεύς
ἐσσί· μεγαλᾶν πολίων
ἔχει συγγενής
ὀφθαλμὸς αἰδοιότατον γέρας
τεᾷ τοῦτο μειγνύμενον φρενί·
μάκαρ δὲ καὶ νῦν, κλεεννᾶς ὅτι
εὖχος ἤδη παρὰ Πυθιάδος ἵπποις ἑλών
δέδεξαι τόνδε κῶμον ἀνέρων.

Ἀπολλώνιον ἄθυρμα· τῶ σε μὴ λαθέτω,
Κυράνᾳ γλυκὺν ἀμφὶ κᾶ-
πον Ἀφροδίτας ἀειδόμενον,
παντὶ μὲν θεὸν αἴτιον ὑπερτιθέμεν,
φίλεῖν δὲ Κάρρωτον ἔξοχ' ἑταίρων·
ὃς οὐ τὰν Ἐπιμαθέος ἄγων
ὀψινόου θυγατέρα Πρόφασιν Βαττιδᾶν
ἀφίκετο δόμους θεμισκρεόντων·

ἀλλ' ἀρισθάρματον
ὕδατι Κασταλίας ξενω-
θεὶς γέρας ἀμφέβαλε τεαῖσιν κόμαις,

Β ἀκηράτοις ἀνίαις
ποδαρκέων δώδεκ' ἂν δρόμων τέμενος.
κατέκλασε γὰρ ἐντέων σθένος οὐδέν· ἀλλὰ κρέμαται
ὁπόσα χεριαρᾶν
τεκτόνων δαίδαλ' ἄγων
Κρισαῖον λόφον
ἄμειψεν ἐν κοιλόπεδον νάπος
θεοῦ· τό σφ' ἔχει κυπαρίσσινον
μέλαθρον ἀμφ' ἀνδριάντι σχεδόν,
Κρῆτες ὃν τοξοφόροι τέγεϊ Παρνασσίῳ
καθέσσαντο μονόδροπον φυτόν.

ἑκόντι τοίνυν πρέπει
νόῳ τὸν εὐεργέταν ὑπαντιάσαι.
Ἀλεξιβιάδα, σὲ δ' ἡΰκομοι φλέγοντι Χάριτες.
μακάριος, ὃς ἔχεις
καὶ πεδὰ μέγαν κάματον
λόγων φερτάτων
μναμήϊ'· ἐν τεσσαράκοντα γάρ
πετόντεσσιν ἀνιόχοις ὅλον
δίφρον κομίξαις ἀταρβεῖ φρενί,
ἦλθες ἤδη Λιβύας πεδίον ἐξ ἀγλαῶν
ἀέθλων καὶ πατρωΐαν πόλιν.

πόνων δ' οὔ τις ἀπόκλαρός ἐστιν οὔτ' ἔσεται·
ὁ Βάττου δ' ἕπεται παλαι-
ὸς ὄλβος ἔμπαν τὰ καὶ τὰ νέμων,
πύργος ἄστεος ὄμμα τε φαεννότατον
ξένοισι. κεῖνόν γε καὶ βαρύκομποι
λέοντες περὶ δείματι φύγον,
γλῶσσαν ἐπεί σφιν ἀπένεικεν ὑπερποντίαν·
ὁ δ' ἀρχαγέτας ἔδωκ' Ἀπόλλων
θῆρας αἰνῷ φόβῳ,
ὄφρα μὴ ταμίᾳ Κυρά-
νας ἀτελὴς γένοιτο μαντεύμασιν.

Γ ὃ καὶ βαρειᾶν νόσων
ἀκέσματ' ἄνδρεσσι καὶ γυναιξὶ νέμει,
πόρεν τε κίθαριν, δίδωσί τε Μοῖσαν οἷς ἂν ἐθέλῃ,
ἀπόλεμον ἀγαγών
ἐς πραπίδας εὐνομίαν,
μυχόν τ' ἀμφέπει
μαντήϊον· τῷ {καὶ} Λακεδαίμονι
ἐν Ἄργει τε καὶ ζαθέᾳ Πύλῳ

ἔνασσεν ἀλκ⟨άε⟩ντας Ἡρακλέος
ἐκγόνους Αἰγιμιοῦ τε. τὸ δ' ἐμὸν γαρύει
ἀπὸ Σπάρτας ἐπήρατον κλέος,

ὅθεν γεγενναμένοι
ἵκοντο Θήρανδε φῶτες Αἰγεΐδαι,
ἐμοὶ πατέρες, οὐ θεῶν ἄτερ, ἀλλὰ Μοῖρά τις ἄγεν·
πολύθυτον ἔρανον
ἔνθεν ἀναδεξάμενοι,
Ἄπολλον, τεᾷ,
Καρνήϊ', ἐν δαιτὶ σεβίζομεν
Κυράνας ἀγακτιμέναν πόλιν·
ἔχοντι τὰν χαλκοχάρμαι ξένοι
Τρῶες Ἀντανορίδαι· σὺν Ἑλένᾳ γὰρ μόλον,
καπνωθεῖσαν πάτραν ἐπεὶ ἴδον

ἐν Ἄρει· τὸ δ' ἐλάσιππον ἔθνος ἐνδυκέως
δέκονται θυσίαισιν ἄνδρες οἰχνέοντές σφε δωροφόροι,
τοὺς Ἀριστοτέλης ἄγαγε ναυσὶ θοαῖς
ἁλὸς βαθεῖαν κέλευθον ἀνοίγων.
κτίσεν δ' ἄλσεα μείζονα θεῶν,
εὐθύτομόν τε κατέθηκεν Ἀπολλωνίαις
ἁλεξιμβρότοις πεδιάδα πομπαῖς
ἔμμεν ἱππόκροτον
σκυρωτὰν ὁδόν, ἔνθα πρυ-
μνοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἔπι δίχα κεῖται θανών·

Δ μάκαρ μὲν ἀνδρῶν μέτα
ἔναιεν, ἥρως δ' ἔπειτα λαοσεβής.
ἄτερθε δὲ πρὸ δωμάτων ἕτεροι λαχόντες Ἀΐδαν
βασιλέες ἱεροί
ἐντί· μεγαλᾶν δ' ἀρετᾶν
δρόσῳ μαλθακᾷ
ῥανθεισᾶν κώμων {θ'} ὑπὸ χεύμασιν,
ἀκούοντί ποι χθονίᾳ φρενί,
σφὸν ὄλβον υἱῷ τε κοινὰν χάριν
ἔνδικόν τ' Ἀρκεσίλᾳ· τὸν ἐν ἀοιδᾷ νέων
πρέπει χρυσάορα Φοῖβον ἀπύειν,

ἔχοντα Πυθωνόθεν
τὸ καλλίνικον λυτήριον δαπανᾶν
μέλος χαρίεν, ἄνδρα κεῖνον ἐπαινέοντι συνετοί
λεγόμενον ἐρέω·
κρέσσονα μὲν ἁλικίας
νόον φέρβεται
γλῶσσάν τε· θάρσος δὲ τανύπτερος
ἐν ὄρνιξιν αἰετὸς ἔπλετο
ἀγωνίας δ', ἔρκος οἷον, σθένος·

ἔν τε Μοίσαισι ποτανὸς ἀπὸ ματρὸς φίλας,
πέφανταί θ' ἁρματηλάτας σοφός·

ὅσαι τ' εἰσὶν ἐπιχωρίων καλῶν ἔσοδοι,
τετόλμακε. θεός τέ οἱ
τὸ νῦν τε πρόφρων τελεῖ δύνασιν,
καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁμοῖα, Κρονίδαι μάκαρες,
διδοῖτ' ἐπ' ἔργοισιν ἀμφί τε βουλαῖς
ἔχειν, μὴ φθινοπωρὶς ἀνέμων
χειμερία κατὰ πνοὰ δαμαλίζοι χρόνον.
Διός τοι νόος μέγας κυβερνᾷ
δαίμον' ἀνδρῶν φίλων
εὔχομαί νιν Ὀλυμπίᾳ
τοῦτο δόμεν γέρας ἔπι Βάττου γένει.

A O widely strong wealth, whenever a mortal man leads it—if fate grants it to him—mixed with pure virtue, it is a companion with many friends. O Arcesilaus, favored by the gods, you indeed from the deep starting blocks of your glorious years strive for it [wealth] with good reputation thanks to Castor with the gold chariot, who showers your blessed hearth with fair weather after a wintry storm. (1–11)

Wise men, you know, bear even god-given power better, and much prosperity surrounds you as you go with justice. And this is because, on the one hand, you are a king. The inherited family power [eye] of great cities holds this most awe-inspiring honor, mixed with your intelligence. And you are blessed even now, because you have captured the victory boast with the horses at Pytho and you have received this celebration of men, (12–22)

a delight of Apollo. And so do not forget, as you are being hymned in Cyrene, in the sweet garden of Aphrodite, to acknowledge the god as chiefly responsible for everything. And cherish Carrhotus most of your companions, who without bringing the daughter of late-minded Epimetheus, Excuse, arrived at the houses of the sons of Battus who rule by divine right. Rather, having been hosted by the springs of Castalia, he crowned your hair with the honor of a victorious chariot (23–31)

B when, with unspoiled reins he made it through twelve swift-footed runnings. For he did not at all destroy the strength of the equipment, but bringing the artifice of skilled craftsmen which hangs [in the temple], he passed the hill of Crisa in the hollow valley of the god. And a cypress beam holds it nearby a statue made from a single tree which the arrow-bearing Cretans dedicated to the Parnassan temple. (32–42)

And so it is fitting that you meet your benefactor with a willing mind. Alexibiades, the fair-haired Graces illuminate you. Blessed are you

who have, after great toil, a memorial of strong words. For with forty chariot drivers falling, having brought your chariot body back whole with a undisturbed mind, you have already come to the plain of Libya, your native city, from the glorious contests. (43–53)

But no one is, nor will ever be, without a portion of trouble. The ancient prosperity of Battus follows, governing all equally, a tower of the city and a shining beacon to strangers. That man even deep-roaring lions fled from in terror when he brought forth for them his voice from across the sea. Apollo Archegetes gave the beasts this terrible fear so that his plans, through oracles, for the steward of Cyrene would not be unfulfilled. (54–62)

C And he [Apollo] provides cures for heavy sicknesses for men and women, he gave them the lyre, and he gives the Muse to whomever he wants, leading good government without war into their breasts, and he manages a prophetic oracle. At this oracle, he settled the strong offspring of Heracles and Aegimius at Sparta, Argos, and divine Pylos. And it is my job to hail the beloved fame from Sparta, (63–73)

Being descended from this place [Sparta], the men, the Aegidae, arrived at Thera, my forefathers, not without the gods, but some Fate led them. From that time, receiving a banquet full of sacrifices, we honor, Apollo Carneius, in your feast, the gloriously founded city of Cyrene. Which [Cyrene] the strangers who delight in bronze, the Trojan sons of Antenor, occupy; for they came with Helen when they saw their homeland burning up in smoke (74–84)

in war. And the horse-driving race [Cyrene] receives them [Trojans] kindly, men approaching them with sacrifices and bearing gifts, those men whom Aristoteles brought in swift ships when he opened up a deep path across the sea. And he founded greater altars for the gods and established for Apollonian processions which protect mortals a straightcut level [path] to be a paved road, resounding with the pounding of horses' hooves, there, having died, he lies apart, at the edge of the agora. (85–93)

D Blessed, on the one hand, he lived among men, and then he was a hero honored by the people. Apart, before the houses, are the other holy kings who have come upon their lot in Hades; they listen with an earthy mind to the great virtues which have been sprinkled with soft dew and to the songs beneath the streams, their prosperity and a common joy for their son and one justly due to Arcesilaus, who should call upon Phoebus of the golden bow in a song of young men (94–104)

since he has from Pytho the recompense, beautiful in victory, of expense, the pleasing song. Those who know praise that man; I will say what is said. He nourishes a mind stronger than his age and a tongue; in courage he is a wide-winged eagle among birds; in strength

of contest, a bulwark. He flies among the Muses because of his dear mother; he has the reputation of a skilled charioteer. (105–15)

You have dared [to make] as many approaches to native excellence as there are; the benevolent god grants power to him now, and may you, blessed sons of Cronus, grant that he has the same in the future both in deeds and in plans—may no crop-withering wintry wind destroy his time. The great mind of Zeus governs the prosperity of dear men. I pray that he grant this honor at Olympia to the race of Battus. (116–24)

Olympian 7

A Φιάλαν ὡς εἴ τις ἀφνειᾶς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἑλών
ἔνδον ἀμπέλου καχλάζοισαν δρόσῳ
δωρήσεται
νεανίᾳ γαμβρῷ προπίνων
οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε, πάγχρυσον, κορυφὰν κτεάνων,
συμποσίου τε χάριν κᾶ-
δός τε τιμάσαις ⟨ν⟩έον, ἐν δὲ φίλων
παρεόντων θῆκέ νιν ζαλωτὸν ὁμόφρονος εὐνᾶς·

καὶ ἐγὼ νέκταρ χυτόν, Μοισᾶν δόσιν, ⟨ἀε⟩θλοφόροις
ἀνδράσιν πέμπων, γλυκὺν καρπὸν φρενός,
ἱλάσκομαι,
Ὀλυμπίᾳ Πυθοῖ τε νικών-
τεσσιν· ὁ δ' ὄλβιος, ὃν φᾶμαι κατέχωντ' ἀγαθαί·
ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλον ἐποπτεύ-
ει Χάρις ζωθάλμιος ἁδυμελεῖ
θαμὰ μὲν φόρμιγγι παμφώνοισί τ' ἐν ἔντεσιν αὐλῶν.

καί νυν ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων σὺν
Διαγόρᾳ κατέβαν, τὰν ποντίαν
ὑμνέων, παῖδ' Ἀφροδίτας
Ἀελίοιό τε νύμφαν, Ῥόδον,
εὐθυμάχαν ὄφρα πελώριον ἄνδρα παρ' Ἀλ-
φειῷ στεφανωσάμενον
αἰνέσω πυγμᾶς ἄποινα
καὶ παρὰ Κασταλίᾳ, πα-
τέρα τε Δαμάγητον ἀδόντα Δίκᾳ,
Ἀσίας εὐρυχόρου τρίπολιν νᾶσον πέλας
ἐμβόλῳ ναίοντας Ἀργείᾳ σὺν αἰχμᾷ.

B ἐθελήσω τοῖσιν ἐξ ἀρχᾶς ἀπὸ Τλαπολέμου
ξυνὸν ἀγγέλλων διορθῶσαι λόγον,
Ἡρακλέος
εὐρυσθενεῖ γέννᾳ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ
πατρόθεν ἐκ Διὸς εὔχονται· τὸ δ' Ἀμυντορίδαι
ματρόθεν Ἀστυδαμείας.
ἀμφὶ δ' ἀνθρώπων φρασὶν ἀμπλακίαι
ἀναρίθμητοι κρέμανται· τοῦτο δ' ἀμάχανον εὑρεῖν,

ὅτι νῦν ἐν καὶ τελευτᾷ φέρτατον ἀνδρὶ τυχεῖν.
καὶ γὰρ Ἀλκμήνας κασίγνητον νόθον
σκάπτῳ θενών
σκληρᾶς ἐλαίας ἔκτανεν Τί-
ρυνθι Λικύμνιον ἐλθόντ' ἐκ θαλάμων Μιδέας
τᾶσδέ ποτε χθονὸς οἰκι-

στὴρ χολωθείς. αἱ δὲ φρενῶν ταραχαί
παρέπλαγξαν καὶ σοφόν. μαντεύσατο δ' ἐς θεὸν ἐλθών.

τῷ μὲν ὁ χρυσοκόμας εὐ-
ώδεος ἐξ ἀδύτου ναῶν πλόον
εἶπε Λερναίας ἀπ' ἀκτᾶς
εὐθὺν ἐς ἀμφιθάλασσον νομόν,
ἔνθα ποτὲ βρέχε θεῶν βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας
χρυσέαις νιφάδεσσι πόλιν,
ἀνίχ' Ἀφαίστου τέχναισιν
χαλκελάτῳ πελέκει πα-
τέρος Ἀθαναία κορυφὰν κατ' ἄκραν
ἀνορούσαισ' ἀλάλαξεν ὑπερμάκει βοᾷ.
Οὐρανὸς δ' ἔφριξέ νιν καὶ Γαῖα μάτηρ.

Γ τότε καὶ φαυσίμβροτος δαίμων Ὑπεριονίδας
μέλλον ἔντειλεν φυλάξασθαι χρέος
παισὶν φίλοις,
ὡς ἂν θεᾷ πρῶτοι κτίσαιεν
βωμὸν ἐναργέα, καὶ σεμνὰν θυσίαν θέμενοι
πατρί τε θυμὸν ἰάναι-
εν κόρᾳ τ' ἐγχειβρόμῳ. ἐν δ' ἀρετάν
ἔβαλεν καὶ χάρματ' ἀνθρώποισι προμαθέος αἰδώς·

ἐπὶ μὰν βαίνει τι καὶ λάθας ἀτέκμαρτα νέφος,
καὶ παρέλκει πραγμάτων ὀρθὰν ὁδόν
ἔξω φρενῶν.
καὶ τοὶ γὰρ αἰθοίσας ἔχοντες
σπέρμ' ἀνέβαν φλογὸς οὔ. τεῦξαν δ' ἀπύροις ἱεροῖς
ἄλσος ἐν ἀκροπόλει. κεί-
νοισι μὲν ξανθὰν ἀγαγὼν νεφέλαν {Ζεύς}
πολὺν ὖσε χρυσόν· αὐτὰ δέ σφισιν ὤπασε τέχναν

πᾶσαν ἐπιχθονίων Γλαυκ-
ῶπις ἀριστοπόνοις χερσὶ κρατεῖν.
ἔργα δὲ ζωοῖσιν ἐρπόν-
τεσσί θ' ὁμοῖα κέλευθοι φέρον·
ἦν δὲ κλέος βαθύ. δαέντι δὲ καὶ σοφία
μείζων ἄδολος τελέθει.
φαντὶ δ' ἀνθρώπων παλαιαί
ῥήσιες, οὔπω, ὅτε χθό-
να δατέοντο Ζεύς τε καὶ ἀθάνατοι,
φανερὰν ἐν πελάγει Ῥόδον ἔμμεν ποντίῳ,
ἁλμυροῖς δ' ἐν βένθεσιν νᾶσον κεκρύφθαι.

Δ ἀπεόντος δ' οὔτις ἔνδειξεν λάχος Ἀελίου·
καί ῥά νιν χώρας ἀκλάρωτον λίπον,
ἀγνὸν θεόν.
μνασθέντι δὲ Ζεὺς ἄμπαλον μέλ-

λεν θέμεν. ἀλλά νιν οὐκ εἴασεν· ἐπεὶ πολιᾶς
εἶπέ τιν' αὐτὸς ὁρᾶν ἔν-
δον θαλάσσας αὐξομέναν πεδόθεν
πολύβοσκον γαῖαν ἀνθρώποισι καὶ εὔφρονα μήλοις.

ἐκέλευσεν δ' αὐτίκα χρυσάμπυκα μὲν Λάχεσιν
χεῖρας ἀντεῖναι, θεῶν δ' ὅρκον μέγαν
μὴ παρφάμεν,
ἀλλὰ Κρόνου σὺν παιδὶ νεῦσαι,
φαεννὸν ἐς αἰθέρα μιν πεμφθεῖσαν ἑᾷ κεφαλᾷ
ἐξοπίσω γέρας ἔσσε-
σθαι. τελεύταθεν δὲ λόγων κορυφαί
ἐν ἀλαθείᾳ πετοῖσαι· βλάστε μὲν ἐξ ἁλὸς ὑγρᾶς

νᾶσος, ἔχει τέ μιν ὀξει-
ᾶν ὁ γενέθλιος ἀκτίνων πατήρ,
πῦρ πνεόντων ἀρχὸς ἵππων·
ἔνθα Ῥόδῳ ποτὲ μιχθεὶς τέκεν
ἑπτὰ σοφώτατα νοήματ' ἐπὶ προτέρων
ἀνδρῶν παραδεξαμένους
παῖδας, ὧν εἷς μὲν Κάμιρον
πρεσβύτατόν τε Ἰάλυ-
σον ἔτεκεν Λίνδον τ'· ἀπάτερθε δ' ἔχον
διὰ γαῖαν τρίχα δασσάμενοι πατρωίαν
ἀστέων μοίρας, κέκληνται δέ σίν ἕδραι.

E τόθι λύτρον συμφορᾶς οἰκτρᾶς γλυκὺ Τλαπολέμῳ
ἵσταται Τιρυνθίων ἀρχαγέτᾳ,
ὥσπερ θεῷ,
μήλων τε κνισάεσσα πομπὰ
καὶ κρίσις ἀμφ' ἀέθλοις. τῶν ἄνθεσι Διαγόρας
ἐστεφανώσατο δίς, κλει-
νᾷ τ' ἐν Ἰσθμῷ τετράκις εὐτυχέων,
Νεμέᾳ τ' ἄλλαν ἐπ' ἄλλᾳ, καὶ κρανααῖς ἐν Ἀθάναις.

ὅ τ' ἐν Ἄργει χαλκὸς ἔγνω νιν, τά τ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ
ἔργα καὶ Θήβαις, ἀγῶνές τ' ἔννομοι
Βοιωτίων,
Πέλλανά τ'· Αἰγίνᾳ τε νικῶνθ'
ἑξάκις· ἐν Μεγάροισίν τ' οὐχ ἕτερον λιθίνα
ψᾶφος ἔχει λόγον. ἀλλ' ὦ
Ζεῦ πάτερ, νώτοισιν Ἀταβυρίου
μεδέων, τίμα μὲν ὕμνου τεθμὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκαν.

ἄνδρα τε πὺξ ἀρετὰν εὐ-
ρόντα. δίδοι τέ οἱ αἰδοίαν χάριν
καὶ ποτ' ἀστῶν καὶ ποτὶ ξεί-
νων. ἐπεὶ ὕβριος ἐχθρὰν ὁδόν
εὐθυπορεῖ, σάφα δαεὶς ἃ τε οἱ πατέρων

ὀρθαὶ φρένες ἐξ ἀγαθῶν
ἔχρεον. μὴ κρύπτε κοινόν
σπέρμ' ἀπὸ Καλλιάνακτος·
Ἐρατιδᾶν τοι σὺν χαρίτεσσιν ἔχει
θαλίας καὶ πόλις· ἐν δὲ μιᾷ μοίρᾳ χρόνου
ἄλλοτ' ἀλλοῖαι διαιθύσσοισιν αὖραι.

A As if some one, taking a cup foaming within with the dew of the grape from a wealthy hand, will bestow it as a gift, completely gold, the peak of his possessions, from one house to another, offering a toast to the young bridegroom, honoring the grace of the symposium and the new family relationship. With friends present he has caused him to be envied for his like-minded marriage. (1–6)

I, too, sending this liquid nectar, the gift of the Muses, to men bearing prizes, victorious at Olympia and Pytho, ask the gods' blessing for the sweet fruit of my mind. He is blessed whom good reports hold; Charis, who gives life its bloom, watches over now one man and now another, often with the sweet-sounding lyre and the all-sounding notes of pipes. (7–12)

And now, with the accompaniment of both [lyre and pipes], I have entered with Diagoras, hymning the girl of the ocean, the daughter of Aphrodite and bride of Helius, Rhodes, in order that I may praise that straight-fighting hulk of a man who was crowned beside the Alpheus in compensation for boxing and beside the Castalian springs and [so that I may praise] his father, Damegetus, who pleases Dike, dwelling by the Argive spear upon the three-citied island near the headland of wide-plained Asia. (13–19)

B I wish, announcing from the beginning, from Tlepolemus, to straighten out the common account for the wide-strengthed race of Heracles. For they boast to descend on their father's side from Zeus, and on their mother's side, to be the sons of Amyntor through Astydameia. Innumerable errors hang upon the wits of men, and this is a difficult thing to discover (20–25)

how now and also in the end a man will come upon what is best. For he killed Licymnius, the bastard brother of Alcmene, striking him with a scepter of hard olive wood at Tiryns, as he [Licymnius] was leaving the rooms of Midea, he, the founder of this land here—having been driven to anger. Disturbances of the mind drive even a wise man astray. He went to consult the god. (26–31)

And the golden-haired one told him from his well-scented inner chamber to sail from the Lernean cape straight to a land surrounded by sea, where once the great king of the gods showered the city with golden

snow when Athena, through the contrivances of Hephestus and a bronze axe, rising from the top of her father's head, cried out a tremendous shout. The heavens shuddered at her and so did mother Earth. (32–38)

C At that time, the heavenly power that gives light to mortals, the son of Hyperion, told his dear children to guard for themselves her future service. [He said that] they should be the first to found a conspicuous altar for the goddess, and making a holy sacrifice, they should cheer the heart of the father and the maiden who wields the spear. Reverence for forethought casts excellence and delights for mankind, (39–44)

and yet a certain unpredicted cloud of forgetfulness comes later and steals the right way of things from their minds. And so they went up having no seed of shining flame, and they built an altar on the acropolis with fireless sacrifices. Zeus bringing a golden cloud showered them with much gold, and the Grey-eyed one gave them art, (45–50)

all of it, so they would rule all mortals with their hands which excel in effort. Their paths bore works which were like living and crawling creatures; their fame was deep, and wisdom is greater for the clever one when it accomplishes things without deceit. The ancient reports of men say that when Zeus and the immortals divided up the earth, Rhodes was not yet visible in the marine expanse, but was hidden, an island, in the salty depths. (51–57)

D Since Helius was absent, no one drew him a lot, and they left him without a portion of land, a holy god. When he [Helius] mentioned it, Zeus was going to arrange a recasting of votes for him, but Helius would not allow it since he told him that he himself had seen in the hoary sea earth growing from the ground, rich in food for men and kindly to their flocks. (58–63)

He bid Lachesis with the golden fillet at once to stretch out her hands and not to foreswear the great oath of the gods, but to nod her head with the son of Cronus so that once [the island] had been sent forth into the shining air, it would be his prize from this time on. And in the end, the peaks of his words fly with truth. There burst forth from the moist sea (64–69)

an island, and the father, source of the sun's sharp rays and ruler of the fire-breathing horses has her. There, having been mingled with Rhodes at that time he begat seven sons who inherited the wisest thoughts of men in earlier times. One of whom sired Camirus, Ialysus, the eldest, and Lindus. Having divided the paternal land into thirds they ruled apart, and their seats are named for themselves. (70–76)

E Here, the sweet recompense for bitter sorrow was established for Tlepolemus of Tiryns, the founder, just as if for a god—a procession filled

with the smoke of sacrificed sheep and athletic contests. Diagoras was crowned twice with blossoms from these games, and he fared well four times at the glorious Isthmian games and time after time at Nemea and at rocky Athens. (77–82)

The bronze knew him at Argos, and his deeds at Arcadia and Thebes and the lawful contests of Boeotia and Pellana; six times he was victorious in Aegina. In Megara the stone tablet has no other record. But O father Zeus, ruling over the peaks of Ataburius, honor the celebration of song due to the Olympian victory (83–88)

and a man who discovered excellence in boxing. Give him respectful grace from citizens and strangers since he has steered straight the road hateful of excess, knowing clearly the things which the straight minds of his good fathers prophesied. Do not hide the common seed of Callianax. The city too enjoys the celebrations with the graces of the sons of Eratus. In a single allotment of time, different breezes blow different ways. (89–95)

Bacchylides 11

Νίκα γλυκύδωρε· [μόναι γὰρ
σοὶ πατ[ὴρ
ὑψίζυ[γος
ἐν πολυχρύσωι ⟨τ'⟩ Ὀλύμπωι
Ζηνὶ παρισταμένα
κρίνεις τέλος ἀθανάτοι-
σίν τε καὶ θνατοῖς ἀρετᾶς·
ἔλλαθι, [βαθυ]πλοκάμου
κούρα Ϛ[τυγὸς ὀρ]θοδίκου· σέθεν δ' ἕκατι
καὶ νῦ[ν Μετ]απόντιον εὐ-
γυίων ϙ[ατέ]χουσι νέων
κῶμοί τε καὶ ϙὐφροσύναι θεότιμον ἄστυ·
ὑμνεῦσι δὲ Πυθιόνικον
παῖδα θαητ[ὸ]ν Φαΐσκου.

ἵλεώι νιν ὁ Δϙ[λ]ογενὴς υἱ-
ὸς βαθυζώνϙ[ιο] Λατοῦς
δέκτ[ο] βλεφϙ́[ρω]ι· πολέες
δ'ἀμφ' Ἀλεξ[ίδα]μον ἀνθέων
ἐν πεδίωι στέφανοι
Κίρρας ἔπεσον κρατερᾶς
ἦρα παννίκοι ⟨ο⟩ πάλας·
οὐκ ϙ[ῖ]δέ νιν ἀέλιος
κείνωι γε σὺν ἅματι πρὸς γαίαι πεσόντα.
φάσω δὲ καὶ ἐν ζαθέοις
ἀγνοῦ Πέλοπος δαπέδοις
Ἀλφεὸν πάρα καλλιρόαν, δίκας κέλευθον
εἰ μή τις ἀπέτραπεν ὀρθᾶς,
παγξένωι χαίταν ἐλαίαι

γλαυκᾶι στεφανωσάμενον
πορτιτρόφϙ[ον Ἰταλ]ϊ[αν πάτ]ϙ́[ρ]ὰν θ' ἱκέσθαι.
[ἦ τινα γὰρ ποτὶ γᾶι]
παῖδ' ἐν χθονὶ καλλιχόρωι
ποικίλαις τέχναις πέλασσεν
ἀ]λ̣λ' ἢ θεὸς αἴτιος, ἢ
γ]νῶμαι πολύπλαγκτοι βροτῶν
ἄ]μερσαν ὑπέρτατον ἐκ χειρῶν γέρας.
γ̣ῦν δ' Ἄρτεμις ἀγροτέρα
χρυσαλάκατος λιπαράν
Ἡμ]ϵ́ρα τοξόκλυτος νίκαν ἔδωκε.
τ]ᾷ̣ι ποτ' Ἀβαντιάδας
β]ωμὸν κατένασσε πολύλ-
λ̣[ι]στον εὔπεπλοί τε κοῦραι·

τὰς ἐξ ἐρατῶν ἐφόβησε⟨ν⟩
παγκρατὴς Ἥρα μελάθρων
Προίτου, παραπλῆγι φρένας
καρτερᾶι ζεύξασ' ἀνάγκαι·
παρθενίαι γὰρ ἔτι
ψυχᾶι κίον ἐς τέμενος
πορφυροζώνοιο θεᾶς·
φάσκον δέ πολὺ σφέτερον
πλούτωι προφέρειν πατέρα ξανθᾶς παρέδρου
σεμνοῦ Διὸς εὐρυβία.
ταῖσιν δὲ χολωσαμένα
στήθεσσι παλίντροπον ἔμβαλεν νόημα·
φεῦγον δ' ὄρος ἐς τανίφυλλον
σμερδαλέαν φωνὰν ἰεῖσαι,

Τιρύνθιον ἄστυ λιποῦσαι
καὶ θεοδμάτους ἀγυιάς.
ἤδη γὰρ ἔτος δέκατον
θεοφιλὲς λιπόντες Ἄργος
ναῖον ἀδεισιβόαι
χαλκάσπιδες ἡμίθεοι
σὺν πολυζήλωι βασιλεῖ.
νεῖκος γὰρ ἀμαιμάκετον
βληχρᾶς ἀνέπαλτο κασιγνήτοις ἀπ' ἀρχᾶς
Προίτωι τε καὶ Ἀκρισίωι·
λαούς τε διχοστασίαις
ἤρειπον ἀμετροδίκοις μάχαις τε λυγραῖς,
λίσσοντο δὲ παῖδας Ἄβαντος
γᾶν πολύκριθον λαχόντας

Τίρυνθα τὸν ὁπλότερον
κτίζειν, πρὶν ἐς ἀργαλέαν πεσεῖν ἀνάγκαν·
Ζεύς τ' ἔθελεν Κρονίδας
τιμῶν Δαναοῦ γενεὰν
καὶ διωξίπποιο Λυγκέος
παῦσαι στυγερῶν ἀχέων.
τεῖχος δὲ Κύκλωπες κάμον
ἐλθόντες ὑπερφίαλοι κλεινᾶι π[όλ]ει
κάλλιστον, ἵν' ἀντίθεοι
ναῖον κλυτὸν ἱππόβοτον
Ἄργος ἥρωες περικλειτοὶ λιπόντες,
ἔνθεν ἀπεσσύμεναι
Προίτου κυανοπλόκαμοι
φεῦγον ἄδματοι θύγατρες.

τὸν δ' εἶλεν ἄχος κραδίαν, ξεί-
να τέ νιν πλᾶξεν μέριμνα·
δοίαξε δὲ φάσγανον ἄμ-

φακες ἐν στέρνοισι πᾶξαι.
ἀλλά νιν αἰχμοφόροι
μύθοισί τε μειλιχίοις
καὶ βίαι χειρῶν κάτεχον.
τρισκαίδεκα μὲν τελέους
μῆνας κατὰ δάσκιον ἠλύκταζον ὕλαν
φεῦγόν τε κατ' Ἀρκαδίαν
μηλοτρόφον· ἀλλ' ὅτε δή
Λοῦσον ποτὶ καλλιρόαν πατὴρ ἵκανεν,
ἔνθεν χρόα νιψάμενος φοι-
νικοκ[ραδέμνο]ιο Λατοῦς

κίκλη[ισκε θύγατρ]α βοῶπιν,
χεῖρας ἀντείνων πρὸς αὐγάς
ἱππώκεος ἀελίου,
τέκνα δυστάνοιο λύσσας
πάρφρονος ἐξαγαγεῖν·
"θύσω δέ τοι εἴκοσι βοῦς
ἄζυγας φοινικότριχας."
τοῦ δ' ἔκλυ' ἀριστοπάτρα
θηροσκόπος εὐχομένου· πιθοῦσα δ' Ἥραν
παῦσεν καλυκοστεφάνους
κούρας μανιᾶν ἀθέων·
ταὶ δ' αὐτίκα οἱ τέμενος βωμόν τε τεῦχον,
χραῖνόν τέ μιν αἵματι μήλων
καὶ χοροὺς ἵσταν γυναικῶν.

ἔνθεν καὶ ἀρηϊφίλοις
ἄνδρεσσιν ⟨ἐς⟩ ἱπποτρόφον πόλιν Ἀχαιοῖς
ἔσπεο· σὺν δὲ τύχαι
ναίεις Μεταπόντιον, ὦ
χρυσέα δέσποινα λαῶν·
ἄλσος δέ τοι ἱμερόεν
Κάσαν παρ' εὔυδρον †πρόγο-
νοι ἑσσάμενοι† Πριάμοι' ἐπεὶ χρόνωι
βουλαῖσι θεῶν μακάρων
πέρσαν πόλιν εὐκτιμέναν
χαλκοθωράκων μετ' Ἀτρειδᾶν. δικαίας
ὅστις ἔχει φρένας, εὐ-
ρήσει σὺν ἅπαντι χρόνωι
μυρίας ἀλκὰς Ἀχαιῶν.

Sweet giving Victory, . . . to you alone the father . . . high throned, in much-gilded Olympus, standing beside Zeus, you judge the fulfillment of excellence for immortals and mortals. Come, daughter of deep-haired, straight-judging Styx. Thanks to you even now processions of well-

limbed boys and feasts hold Metapontum, a city honored by the gods, and they sing of the Pythian victor, the lovely son of Phaescus. (1–12)

With kindly brow the Delian-born son of Leto with the deep girdle received him, and many blossoming crowns of powerful, all-victorious wrestling fell around Alexidamus on the plain of Cirra. Nor did the sun see him fall to the ground on that day. I will say that in the very divine plains of holy Pelops, too, beside the beautifully flowing Alpheus, had not someone turned aside the path of straight decision, his hair crowned with the very hospitable, grey olive wreath, (13–28)

he would have arrived to his cattle-nourishing, Italian fatherland . . . he pinned the boy with much skill toward the earth in the land of beautiful dance. But either the god was responsible or the much wandering judgments of men, took the highest honor from his hands. But now wild Artemis with golden staff and famous for her bow, the Gentle one, gave shiny victory. For whom [Artemis] the son of Abas once built an altar where many pray and his well-robed daughters (29–42)

whom all-powerful Hera struck with fear [and drove] out of the lovely halls of Proetus, she whipped their wits astray yoking them to strong necessity. For still virgins they had gone to the precinct of the purple-girdled goddess and said that their father was much more wealthy than the fair-haired consort of solemn, wide-strengthed Zeus. Angry with them, she knocked their wits backwards in their breasts, and they fled to the leafy mountain shrieking a terrible sound. (43–56)

Having left the city of Tiryns and the god-built streets, for it was ten years since the bronze-armed demigods, who do not fear the battle cry, had left lovely Argos and dwelled there [Tiryns] with the much-envied king. For turbulent strife had arisen from harsh beginnings among the brothers Proetus and Acrisius, and they were destroying the people with grievous and unmeasured fighting; they [the people] begged the sons of Abas to draw lots for the land, rich in barley, (58–69)

and that the younger brother settle Tiryns before [Argos] fell into harsh necessity. And Zeus, son of Cronus, honoring the race of Danaus and horse-driving Lynceus, was willing to put a stop to the grievous troubles. The monstrous Cyclopes came and toiled over the most beautiful wall for the famous city, where the god-like ones dwelled, the very famous heroes, after they left famous horse-driving Argos. Rushing off from there [Tiryns] the dark-haired, untamed daughters of Proetus fled. (70–84)

Grief took his heart and alien care stung him; he considered driving a two-edged sword into his breast, but his spear-carrying bodyguards checked him with honeyed words and strength of hands. For the completion of thirteen months they wandered the dark woods and fled through flock-nourishing Arcadia. But when their father reached the

beautiful-flowing Lousus, bathing there, he called upon the ox-eyed daughter of purple-crowned Leto, (85–98)

stretching his hands to the rays of the charioteer sun, [praying] that this daughters be led out from this terrible madness. "I will sacrifice to you twenty unyoked, tawny-hided oxen." She heard him praying, the one with the best father, she who hunts beasts, and persuading Hera she put an end to the godless madness for the crowned girls. And they at once built her an altar and a precinct, and moistened it with the blood of sheep and established the dances of women. (99–112)

From there you too followed the Achaean warrior men to the horse-raising city, and with good fortune you inhabit Metapontum, O golden mistress of the people. There is a lovely grove for you here, beside the well-watered Casa, founded by men who, with the will of the blessed gods, in time sacked the well-built city of Priam with the bronze-thoraxed Atreidae. Whoever has wits, he will discover, in all time, the many deeds of the Achaeans. (113–26)

Pythian 9

A Ἐθέλω χαλκάσπιδα Πυθιονίκαν
σὺν βαθυζώνοισιν ἀγγέλλων
Τελεσικράτη Χαρίτεσσι γεγωνεῖν
ὄλβιον ἄνδρα διωξίππου στεφάνωμα Κυράνας·
τὰν ὁ χαιτάεις ἀνεμοσφαράγων
ἐκ Παλίου κόλπων ποτὲ Λατοίδας
ἅρπασ', ἔνεικέ τε χρυσέῳ παρθένον ἀγροτέραν
δίφρῳ, τόθι νιν πολυμήλου
καὶ πολυκαρποτάτας θῆκε δέσποιναν χθονός
ῥίζαν ἀπείρου τρίταν εὐ-
ήρατον θάλλοισαν οἰκεῖν.

ὑπέδεκτο δ' ἀργυρόπεζ' Ἀφροδίτα
Δάλιον ξεῖνον θεοδμάτων
ὀχέων ἑφαπτομένα χερὶ κούφᾳ·
καί σφιν ἐπὶ γλυκεραῖς εὐναῖς ἐρατὰν βάλεν αἰδῶ,
ξυνὸν ἁρμόζοισα θεῷ τε γάμον
μιχθέντα κούρᾳ θ' Ὑψέος εὐρυβία
ὃς Λαπιθᾶν ὑπερόπλων τουτάκις ἦν βασιλεύς,
ἐξ Ὠκεανοῦ γένος ἥρως
δεύτερος· ὃν ποτε Πίνδου κλεεννᾶις ἐν πτυχαῖς
Ναΐς εὐφρανθεῖσα Πηνει-
οῦ λέχει Κρέοισ' ἔτικτεν,

Γαίας θυγάτηρ. ὁ δὲ τὰν εὐώλενον
θρέψατο παῖδα Κυράναν· ἃ μὲν οὔθ' ἱ-
στῶν παλιμβάμους ἐφίλησεν ὁδούς,
οὔτε δείπνων † οἰκουριᾶν μεθ' ἑταιρᾶν τέρψιας,
ἀλλ' ἀκόντεσσίν τε χαλκέοις
φασγάνῳ τε μαρναμένα κεράϊζεν ἀγρίους
θῆρας, ἦ πολλάν τε καὶ ἡσύχιον
βουσὶν εἰρήναν παρέχοισα πατρῴαις,
τὸν δὲ σύγκοιτον γλυκύν
παῦρον ἐπὶ γλεφάροις
ὕπνον ἀναλίσκοισα ῥέποντα πρὸς ἀῶ.

B κίχε νιν λέοντί ποτ' εὐρυφαρέτρας
ὀβρίμῳ μούναν παλαίοισαν
ἄτερ ἐγχέων ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων.
αὐτίκα δ' ἐκ μεγάρων Χίρωνα προσήνεπε φωνᾷ·
'σεμνὸν ἄντρον, Φιλλυρίδα προλιπὼν
θυμὸν γυναικὸς καὶ μεγάλαν δύνασιν
θαύμασον, οἷον ἀταρβεῖ νεῖκος ἄγει κεφαλᾷ,
μόχθου καθύπερθε νεᾶνις
ἦτορ ἔχοισα· φόβῳ δ' οὐ κεχείμανται φρένες.

τίς νιν ἀνθρώπων τέκεν; ποί-
ας δ' ἀποσπασθεῖσα φύτλας

ὀρέων κευθμῶνας ἔχει σκιοέντων,
γεύεται δ' ἀλκᾶς ἀπειράντου;
ὁσία κλυτὰν χέρα οἱ προσενεγκεῖν
ἦρα καὶ ἐκ λεχέων κεῖραι μελιαδέα ποίαν;'
τὸν δὲ Κένταυρος ζαμενής, ἀγανᾷ
χλοαρὸν γελάσσαις ὀφρύϊ, μῆτιν ἐάν
εὐθὺς ἀμείβετο· 'κρυπταὶ κλαῖδες ἐντὶ σοφᾶς
Πειθοῦς ἱερᾶν φιλοτάτων,
Φοῖβε, καὶ ἔν τε θεοῖς τοῦτο κἀνθρώποις ὁμῶς
αἰδέοντ', ἀμφανδὸν ἀδεί-
ας τυχεῖν τὸ πρῶτον εὐνᾶς.

καὶ γὰρ σέ, τὸν οὐ θεμιτὸν ψεύδει θιγεῖν,
ἔτραπε μείλιχος ὀργὰ παρφάμεν τοῦ-
τον λόγον. κούρας δ' ὁπόθεν γενεάν
ἐξερωτᾷς, ὦ ἄνα; κύριον ὃς πάντων τέλος
οἶσθα καὶ πάσας κελεύθους·
ὅσσα τε χθὼν ἠρινὰ φύλλ' ἀναπέμπει, χὠπόσαι
ἐν θαλάσσᾳ καὶ ποταμοῖς ψάμαθοι
κύμασιν ῥιπαῖς τ' ἀνέμων κλονέονται,
χὤ τι μέλλει, χὠπόθεν
ἔσσεται, εὖ καθορᾷς.
εἰ δὲ χρὴ καὶ πὰρ σοφὸν ἀντιφερίξαι,

ἐρέω· ταύτᾳ πόσις ἵκεο βᾶσσαν
τάνδε, καὶ μέλλεις ὑπὲρ πόντου
Διὸς ἔξοχον ποτὶ κᾶπον ἐνεῖκαι·
ἔνθα νιν ἀρχέπολιν θήσεις, ἐπὶ λαὸν ἀγείραις
νασιώταν ὄχθον ἐς ἀμφίπεδον·
νῦν δ' εὐρυλείμων πότνιά σοι Λιβύα
δέξεται εὐκλέα νύμφαν δώμασιν ἐν χρυσέοις
πρόφρων· ἵνα οἱ χθονὸς αἶσαν
αὐτίκα συντελέθειν ἔννομον δωρήσεται,
οὔτε παγκάρπων φυτῶν νά-
ποινον οὔτ' ἀγνῶτα θηρῶν.

τόθι παῖδα τέξεται, ὃν κλυτὸς Ἑρμᾶς
εὐθρόνοις Ὥραισι καὶ Γαίᾳ
ἀνελὼν φίλας ὑπὸ ματέρος οἴσει.
ταὶ δ' ἐπιγουνίδιον θαησάμεναι βρέφος αὐταῖς,
νέκταρ ἐν χείλεσσι καὶ ἀμβροσίαν
στάξοισι, θήσονταί τέ νιν ἀθάνατον,
Ζῆνα καὶ ἀγνὸν Ἀπόλλων', ἀνδράσι χάρμα φίλοις
ἄγχιστον ὀπάονα μήλων,
Ἀγρέα καὶ Νόμιον, τοῖς δ' Ἀρισταῖον καλεῖν.'

ὡς ἄρ' εἰπὼν ἔντυεν τερ-
πνὰν γάμου κραίνειν τελευτάν.

ὠκεῖα δ' ἐπειγομένων ἤδη θεῶν
πρᾶξις ὁδοί τε βραχεῖαι. κεῖνο κεῖν' ἅ-
μαρ διαίτασεν· θαλάμῳ δὲ μίγεν
ἐν πολυχρύσῳ Λιβύας· ἵνα καλλίσταν πόλιν
ἀμφέπει κλεινάν τ' ἀέθλοις.
καί νυν ἐν Πυθῶνί νιν ἀγαθέᾳ Καρνειάδα
υἱὸς εὐθαλεῖ συνέμειξε τύχᾳ·
ἔνθα νικάσαις ἀνέφανε Κυράναν,
ἅ νιν εὔφρων δέξεται
καλλιγύναικι πάτρᾳ
δόξαν ἱμερτὰν ἀγαγόντ' ἀπὸ Δελφῶν.

Δ ἀρεταὶ δ' αἰεὶ μεγάλαι πολύμυθοι·
βαιὰ δ' ἐν μακροῖσι ποικίλλειν
ἀκοὰ σοφοῖς· ὁ δὲ καιρὸς ὁμοίως
παντὸς ἔχει κορυφάν. ἔγνον ποτὲ καὶ Ἰόλαον
οὐκ ἀτιμασαντά νιν ἑπτάπυλοι
Θῆβαι· τόν, Εὐρυσθῆος ἐπεὶ κεφαλάν
ἔπραθε φασγάνου ἀκμᾷ, κρύψαν ἔνερθ' ὑπὸ γᾶν
διφρηλάτα Ἀμφιτρύωνος
σάματι, πατροπάτωρ ἔνθα οἱ Σπαρτῶν ξένος
κεῖτο, λευκίπποισι Καδμείων μετοικήσαις ἀγυιαῖς.

τέκε οἱ καὶ Ζηνὶ μιγεῖσα δαΐφρων
ἐν μόναις ὠδῖσιν Ἀλκμήνα
διδύμων κρατησίμαχον σθένος υἱῶν.
κωφὸς ἀνήρ τις, ὃς Ἡρακλεῖ στόμα μὴ περιβάλλει,
μηδὲ Διρκαίων ὑδάτων ἀὲ μέ-
μναται, τά νιν θρέψαντο καὶ Ἰφικλέα·
τοῖσι τέλειον ἐπ' εὐχᾷ κωμάσομαί τι παθών
ἑσλόν. Χαρίτων κελαδεννᾶν
μή με λίποι καθαρὸν φέγγος. Αἰγίνᾳ τε γάρ
φαμὶ Νίσου τ' ἐν λόφῳ τρὶς
δὴ πόλιν τάνδ' εὐκλείξαι,

σιγαλὸν ἁμαχανίαν ἔργῳ φυγών·
οὕνεκεν, εἰ φίλος ἀστῶν, εἴ τις ἀντά-
εις, τό γ' ἐν ξυνῷ πεπoναμένον εὖ
μὴ λόγον βλάπτων ἁλίοιο γέροντος κρυπτέτω·
κεῖνος αἰνεῖν καὶ τὸν ἐχθρόν
παντὶ θυμῷ σύν τε δίκᾳ καλὰ ῥέζοντ' ἔννεπεν.
πλεῖστα νικάσαντά σε καὶ τελεταῖς
ὡρίαις ἐν Παλλάδος εἶδον ἄφωνοί
θ' ὡς ἕκασται φίλτατον
παρθενικαὶ πόσιν ἤ
υἱὸν εὔχοντ', ὦ Τελεσίκρατες, ἔμμεν,

E ἐν ⟨τ'⟩ Ὀλυμπίοισί τε καὶ βαθυκόλπου
Γᾶς ἀέθλοις ἔν τε καὶ πᾶσιν
ἐπιχωρίοις. ἐμὲ δ' οὖν τις ἀοιδᾶν
δίψαν ἀκειόμενον πράσσει χρέος, αὖτις ἐγεῖραι
καὶ παλαιὰν δόξαν ἐῶν προγόνων·
οἷοι Λιβύσσας ἀμφὶ γυναικὸς ἔβαν
Ἴρασα πρὸς πόλιν, Ἀνταίου μετὰ καλλίκομον
μναστῆρες ἀγακλέα κούραν
τὰν μάλα πολλοὶ ἀριστῆες ἀνδρῶν αἴτεον
σύγγονοι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ξεί-
νων. ἐπεὶ θαητὸν εἶδος

ἔπλετο· χρυσοστεφάνου δέ οἱ Ἥβας
καρπὸν ἀνθήσαντ' ἀποδρέψαι
ἔθελον. πατὴρ δὲ θυγατρὶ φυτεύων
κλεινότερον γάμον, ἄκουσεν Δαναόν ποτ' ἐν Ἄργει
οἷον εὗρεν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ὀκ-
τὼ παρθένοισι πρὶν μέσον ἅμαρ, ἐλεῖν
ὠκύτατον γάμον· ἔστασεν γὰρ ἅπαντα χορόν
ἐν τέρμασιν αὐτίκ' ἀγῶνος·
σὺν δ' ἀέθλοις ἐκέλευσεν διακρῖναι ποδῶν,
ἄντινα σχήσοι τις ἡρώ-
ων, ὅσοι γαμβροί σφιν ἦλθον.

οὕτω δ' ἐδίδου Λίβυς ἁρμόζων κόρᾳ
νυμφίον ἄνδρα· ποτὶ γραμμᾷ μὲν αὐτὰν
στᾶσε κοσμήσαις, τέλος ἔμμεν ἄκρον,
εἶπε δ' ἐν μέσσοις ἀπάγεσθαι, ὃς ἂν πρῶτος θορών
ἀμφί οἱ ψαύσειε πέπλοις.
ἔνθ' Ἀλεξίδαμος, ἐπεὶ φύγε λαιψηρὸν δρόμον,
παρθένον κεδνὰν χερὶ χειρὸς ἑλών
ἆγεν ἱππευτᾶν Νομάδων δι' ὅμιλον.
πολλὰ μὲν κεῖνοι δίκον
φύλλ' ἔπι καὶ στεφάνους·
πολλὰ δὲ πρόσθεν πτερὰ δέξατο νικᾶν.

A I wish, announcing with the deep-girdled Charites the bronze-shielded Pythian victor, to hail Telesicrates, a prosperous man, the crown of horse-driving Cyrene, whom the long-haired son of Leto once took from the valleys of Pelion which echo in the wind, and he brought the wild maiden in a golden chariot and made her mistress there and caused her to live in the lovely flourishing third root of the many-flocked and much-fruited land. (1–8)

And silver-footed Aphrodite received the Delion stranger, touching his god-driven chariot with a light hand, and she cast lovely modesty upon their sweet bed, fitting together a common marriage, mingled in by the

god and the daughter of Hypseus of the wide strength, who was king at that time of the insolent Lapiths, a second-generation hero, descended from Ocean, whom the Naiad, Creousa, bore once in the glorious valleys of Pindus when she took delight in the bed of Peneus, (9–16)

the daughter of Earth. And he [Hypseus] raised his daughter Cyrene with the beautiful arms. But she cared neither about the back-and-forth ways of weaving nor did she like the delights of meals at home with her friends. Rather, fighting with bronze spears and sword she slew wild beasts, providing much pleasant peace for her father's cattle. And she spent very little sleep, sweet companion of her bed [which creeps] upon her eyelids towards dawn. (17–25)

B The broad-quivered one, far-darting Apollo, came upon her once wrestling alone with a fierce lion, without weapons. At once he [Apollo] called Chiron out of his halls with this speech, "Son of Phillyris, leave behind your holy cave and marvel at the guts and great power of this woman; [see] what kind of contest she wages with an unflappable mind, the young girl has a heart greater than her task, and her wits are not storm-tossed by fear. Which mortal gave birth to her? Having been torn from what stock (26–33)

does she occupy the paths of the shadowing mountains and have a taste of unlimited power? Is it permitted to lay a famous hand on her or to cut down the honeyed flower from her bed?" And the inspired Centaur, smiling greenly with a benevolent brow, answered his cunning skill straight away, "Hidden are the keys of wise Peitho, [the keys] of holy loves, Phoebus, for among both gods and men equally they hesitate [to do] this—to come upon the sweet bridal bed for the first time openly. (34–41)

And for you, for whom it is not allowed to touch a falsehood, a gentle disposition has turned you aside to utter this speech insincerely. You ask about the family of this girl, O lord? You who know the proper end of all things and all ways? As many spring leaves as the ground sends up, and as many sands in the sea and in rivers as are disturbed by waves and gusts of wind, and what will happen, and whence it will be, you know well. But if I must compete with you in wisdom, (42–50)

C I will speak. You have come, as a bridegroom to this girl in this glen, and you will bear her across the sea to a choice garden of Zeus and there you will make her foundress, having gathered a host of island people to a hill surrounded by a plain. And now wide-meadowed, reverend Libya will receive the famous nymph kindly in her golden halls, where at once she will make her a present of a portion of land to be lawfully hers, land which is neither lacking in plants of all fruits nor unfamiliar to beasts. (51–58)

There she [Cyrene] will bear a child whom famous Hermes, taking it up from his dear mother, will carry to the Horae and Gaea. They, admiring the baby upon their laps, will drip nectar and ambrosia upon his lips and they will make him immortal, Zeus and holy Apollo, a charm to dear men, ever-present protector of flocks, Agreus and Nomius, and by others [they will arrange] to call him Aristaeus." And so he spoke and urged [Apollo] to accomplish the pleasant goal of marriage. (59–66)

Swift is the deed of gods in a hurry and short are the paths: that very day accomplished these things. He mingled with her in the very gold bed chamber of Libya, where she [Cyrene] is guardian of a most beautiful city and one famous in contests. Even now at Pytho, the son of Carneiades commingled her with beautifully blossoming luck. Victorious there, he made Cyrene known, and she will receive him benevolently as he brings desired fame from Delphi to his fatherland full of beautiful women. (67–75)

D Great virtues always require much song, but elaborating just a few things among many provides a listening for the wise; the right amount equally holds the peak of everything. Seven-gated Thebes once knew that even Iolaus did not dishonor him [Telesicrates], Iolaus, whom when he took off the head of Eurystheus with the edge of his sword, they buried beneath the earth in the tomb of Amphitryon, the charioteer, where his forefather, the guest of the Sown Men lies, having resettled in the white-horsed streets of Thebes. (76–83)

Having mingled with him [Amphitryon] and Zeus, proud Alcmene bore in a single childbirth the strength, strong in battle, of twin sons. Dumb is the man who does not wrap his mouth around [the praise] of Heracles or who does not make mention of the Dircaean springs which nourished him and Iphicles. For them I will sing praise, in accordance with my vow, whenever I suffer something good. May the pure light of the melodious Charites not leave me, for I say that you have glorified this city [Cyrene] at Aegina and three times at the hill of Nisus, (84–91)

having escaped silent uselessness through your deed. For this reason, either a friendly citizen or an enemy, let him not hide that which has been worked on well in common, violating the word of the old man of the sea—that man said to praise even your enemy when he does well with all your heart and with justice. Many times they saw you victorious also in the seasonal games of Pallas, speechless, each of the young maidens prayed that you would be their dear husband or [the mothers prayed for you to be] their son, O Telesicrates, (92–100)

E at the Olympian games at the contest of deep-bosomed Gaea and at all the local games. And I must quench the thirst for songs, to awaken once more the ancient reputation of his ancestors. Such men went to the city of Irasa on account of a Libyan woman, suitors for the glorious, beautiful-haired daughter of Antaeus whom many of the best local men

asked [to marry] and many foreigners as well. Once her appearance (101–8)

became spectacular, they wanted to pluck the blossoming fruit of her golden-crowned youth. Her father produced a rather famous marriage for his daughter; he had heard once how Danaus in Argos had discovered how to get the swiftest marriage for forty-eight maidens before noon. For he had stood the whole group at the goals of the contest. He bid the heroes, as many as had come to be sons-in-law, to decide by foot contests which daughter they would have. (109–16)

In this way the Libyan gave a bridegroom, fitting him, to his daughter. He placed her at the mark, arraying her [in beauty] to be the final goal, and he said to the middle to lead her away [as bride] whoever could first, running, touch her robes. There, Alexidamus since he escaped the swift race, took the pledged girl by the hand and led her through the crowd of Nomad horsemen. They threw many leaves upon them and crowns, and he received many wings of earlier victories. (117–25)

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